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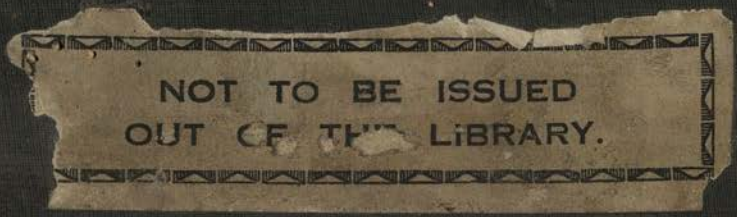
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FREDERICK THE

HIS

COURT AND TIMES.

EDITED

WITH AN INTRODUCTION,

BY THOMAS CAMPBELL, ESQ.,

AUTHOR OF

"THE PLEASURES OF HOPE."

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ERRATUM.

Vol. IV. p. 455, after line 6, insert:

"16. To my niece, the duchess of Wirtemberg, a snuff-box of the value of 6000 dollars, and 20 anthal of Hungarian wine, an open chaise, and a set of Prussian horses.

FREDERICK THE GREAT,

HIS

COURT AND TIMES.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Frederick's Army — Burdens imposed on the country-people for the King's service—Furloughs—Recruiting — Cantonal system — Exemptions from military service—Composition of the Prussian Army—Officers beneath a certain rank forbidden to marry—Licenses of Cohabitation—Condescension of the King to his Officers—Anecdotes—High estimation of military rank during Frederick's reign — Academies for Cadets — Reservation of military commands and other posts of honour for Nobles —Inconsistency of the King's conduct on this point with the sentiments expressed in his works—His attention to the training of Officers—Anecdotes—The King's dislike of foppery —His readiness to assist poor Officers — His severity in cases of base delinquency and inhumanity—Instance of the King's extraordinary memory of persons and goodness of heart.

Before I resume the thread of historical narrative, this seems to be a suitable place at which to pause, for the purpose of directing attention to some of those points which are not reducible to any general chronological arrangement, and therefore require to be discussed separately. The Prussian army, the grand pillar of Frederick's power, the instrument with which we have seen him accomplishing such wonders, claims the first notice.

The principle of the king in regard to his army was to increase it in proportion to the increase of territory and inhabitants; so that, after the acquisition of West Prussia, he raised its force in peace to 186,000, and purposed to

augment it to 218,000 in case of war. At the time of his death, it consisted of 200,000 men, and cost the state about 13 millions of dollars per annum.

The allowances were upon the most economical scale. The infantry were not furnished with great-coats or cloaks. The people of the country were burdened with the keep of the cavalry-horses during the summer months, and with the supply of fodder at other times at low prices; while the districts in which no troops were quartered were put to a heavy expence for the carriage of their natural productions to very considerable distances. The obligation to furnish relays for military and civil officers travelling on the king's service, and for the conveyance of arms, stores, and provisions, was a great impediment to agricultural operations, especially in the environs of Berlin. Thus the circle of Lower Barnim had to furnish annually from 8000 to 10,000 horses for relays, and in time of war half as many more.

In peace, upwards of 50,000 men belonging to the army were absent in the country on furlough, except during the time of the exercises, and these received no pay. Nearly the same number were exempted from attendance on duty, and allowed to work at their trades in the towns where they were garrisoned, and these had to relinquish their pay to the captains, who could not live upon their own. It was a fortunate circumstance for those officers to be sent on garrison duty to towns abounding in trades and manufactures, where a great number of their men could find employment. In the field they lost this advantage, and were partly compensated by the winter douceur money. This allowance was proportioned as follows: for ensigns and lieutenants, 50 dollars; for ad-

jutants, 80; for captains, 500; for major-generals, 1000; for lieutenant-generals, 1500; for generals, 2000; and for field-marshals, 5000. After the seven years' war, the king did not interfere with the privilege of granting furloughs in those regiments with whose conduct in the field he had been satisfied, and permitted the chief of every company to procure his foreign recruits himself. In other regiments, however, the captains were not allowed to have more than 30, 20, or even 10 men on furlough for their benefit: the others the king placed to his own account, and the deficient foreigners were supplied from the general recruiting. Frederick says, in his Posthumous Works: "The captains had abused the liberty of recruiting themselves, and resorted to such violence in foreign countries, that a great outcry was raised against it."

In former times, the regiments were allowed to take only voluntary recruits, the bounty for whom was fixed, in 1721, at 30 dollars for natives. As this voluntary system proved insufficient, and violence excited complaints, two royal ordinances, in 1733, introduced a general enrolment for the standing army by means of *cantons*, as they were called. The first cantonal regulation was to this effect: "All inhabitants are bound to the regiment to whose canton the house in which they were born belongs; only the nobility and those sons of commoners are canton-free who possess a solid property of 10,000 dollars: no regiment shall take for a recruit the cantonist of another regiment." To each infantry regiment was assigned a canton containing 5000 hearths, to a cavalry regiment, 1800. The artillery, for which natives only were accepted, had also its cantons. In the other divisions of the troops which had cantons, the num-

ber of natives was arbitrary, till the instructions of 1764 fixed it for each fuselier and musqueteer company at 71, and for each grenadier company at 79, exclusively of drummers and carpenters. In each squadron of cavalry, dragoons, and hussars, only one-third, that is to say, 44 men, were to be natives.

The cantonal system, like that of furloughs, opened a door to gross abuses and arbitrary excesses, which undermined the morals of the officers, and oppressed the people. The regulation of 1743 purported that "no citizen, peasant, or other person, having a permanent dwelling, or any of the foreigners recently settled in the kingdom of Prussia, shall be taken away for soldiers, unless they are willing to serve; and, when a citizen or peasant has but one son, who is obliged to do the business, he shall not be taken, though he may be of the required height, lest his business should be ruined, unless he is an extra fine and tall fellow"—certainly a very ticklish clause. The cantonists, moreover, were often obliged to pay for permissions to marry, or to make permanent settlements, though it had been expressly ordered that marriage licenses should be granted without hesitation and without fee to all who were too short, or otherwise unfit, for military service. To the annoyance of the people, the vices of the cantonal system continued virtually to prevail after the seven years' war.

As, moreover, according to the spirit of that time, the common man associated no idea of honour with the military profession, and, as it was almost exclusively foreigners and the scum of the country that were trained to it by noble officers, all who felt that they were fit for something better strove to obtain exemption from it.

Frederick William I. gradually granted a great number of such exemptions; and Frederick, on his accession, extended this privilege. Berlin was declared canton-free in 1746; but, in January, 1749, several men were forcibly seized for the military service; the circumstance excited a great commotion among the citizens, and drew from the king a public expression of his disapprobation of forcibly recruiting in Berlin; for, though he wished to have an army ready to take the field at any moment, he was equally solicitous that the country should be populous and flourishing by means of manufactures, trade, and commerce. The number of exempted persons increased from year to year, so that, at the conclusion of the king's reign, it amounted to 970,000, out of a population of 5½ million. Not only had many districts, towns, and villages, obtained this privilege, but also several entire classes; for example — the nobility, the great merchants and manufacturers, the sons of the king's civil officers, the professors and principal academical teachers, the clergy, all students and artists, the colonists and foreigners, together with the sons whom they brought with them, all persons employed in the post department, miners, some farmers, also the Mennonites, and the Jews.

As, in spite of the regulation of 1743, the captains, so long as they had to find recruits for their companies, caused men to be carried off by force in order to save money, and excited the just indignation of foreign princes, the king, in 1763, placed the recruiting as well as the other branches of the military economy in the hands of colonel Wartenberg, so that the root of the evil was left untouched. This mode of recruiting, during the 94 years of its existence, from 1713 to 1807, cost Prussia 42 mil-

lion dollars—in Frederick's time alone 18,400,000—or, on an average, 450,000 a year.

The moral composition of Frederick's army was, according to contemporary writers, and the king's own admissions and documentary evidence, better in the first half of his reign, that is to say, till the peace of Hubertsburg, than in the second. The officer, as a man of noble birth and education, was separated by the barrier of caste from the commoner, and was regarded by the soldier as a superior being. If we further take into account that celibacy prevailed generally among the corps of officers, we may easily conceive what kind of spirit pervaded it. Should we not naturally infer that the officer, confined to the society of such as himself, especially in small garrisons, resorted to amusements that were not the most creditable, still the conviction that drinking, gambling, duels, and running in debt, must have been very common in the army would be forced upon us by the regulations, patents, and other royal rescripts.

Neither does it appear that in Frederick's time the officer found in rapid promotion a compensation for the sacrifices which he made to the service. A printed list of the Prussian army in 1753 shows that all the generals and staff-officers had been obliged to wait ten or twelve years for promotion to a higher rank. From a manuscript list of 1769, it appears that the oldest and youngest of each rank, from major upwards, were ten years apart, with the single exception of the colonels. In 1783, the lieutenant-generals and major-generals were, upon an average, 60 years old, the colonels and lieutenant-colonels 56, and the majors 51.

It was a source of particular displeasure to the king

when he discovered that any of his domestic servants had intercourse with the other sex. This restriction he would fain have extended to his friends, his associates, and the officers of the army. In the army of Brandenburg every one was at liberty to marry, till Frederick I., by what was called the matrimonial edict, forbade privates and subalterns, and, in 1709, lieutenants and captains. The great king was not less rigorous on this point. All below the rank of captain were strictly forbidden to marry; the chiefs of squadrons and companies and the staff-officers were required to ask permission in writing, "and his majesty would not refuse, if the match was suitable, and the officer could benefit himself by it; nevertheless, his majesty would rather see an officer continue unmarried." At a time when the soldier's term of service ended only with his life, the proportion of married men in a squadron was in no case to exceed one-third.

The rigid observance of this regulation produced the desired effect. In 1778, when the famous dragoon regiment of Bayreuth took the field, out of all the 74 officers, from lieutenant-general Bülow to the youngest cornet, not one was married; and many of the highest and most eminent military commanders, as well as many civilians and associates of the king, were deterred from matrimony by the fear of incurring his displeasure.

In the first battalion of the guard, which comprehended very few married men, we meet with licenses of cohabitation, that is, for a soldier to live in a state of natural wedlock with a woman who had had a child by him. The captain of the company saw to it that the parties could support themselves; and the soldier hired a lodging for his companion, while he himself continued in his

quarters. The license of the captain protected the female from molestation by the police. Though these licensed connexions were frequent, yet dissolutions of them rarely occurred: they belonged to the jurisdiction of the chief of the company.

To his officers in general, Frederick's behaviour was not only most condescending, but truly delicate, kind, and one might almost say galant, as is shown in numerous cases besides those of Zieten and Fouqué.

Though general Saldern fell into disgrace for his resolute refusal to plunder the Saxon palace of Hubertsburg, yet, when the war was over, he soon recovered the favour of the king, who esteemed him for his cultivated mind as well as for his professional merit. One day, Frederick, being in an ill-humour, said something that was disagreeable. Saldern made no reply, but his look showed that he was deeply mortified. The king remarked this, and immediately made amends by these kind words: "One ought to have patience with old people! And yet you are offended with me, my dear Saldern!" The general died in 1785, as governor of Magdeburg. A monument has been erected to him at Wettin.

Major-general Driesen was in 1754 commander of the prince of Prussia's regiment of cuirassiers, with which the king was so pleased at the review, that he ordered 2,000 dollars to be paid forthwith to the commander. On the following day, when Driesen went to thank the king for this present, Frederick took him kindly by the hand, and said:—"Your zeal in my service must be rewarded. This is but a trifle; I will do more for you, my dear fellow." On the same day, the king informed

him in a letter written with his own hand, that he had conferred on him the post of amtshauptmann of Osterode, with a pension of 1,000 dollars. At a later period, the king was informed that in the regiment of Dohna at Wesel there was a youth, who was an illegitimate son of general Driesen's, and promised to make a clever officer. As his birth closed the door to promotion against him, the king legitimatized him, gave him a captaincy, and introduced him to his father, who knew nothing of his existence. Young Driesen died on the high road to military distinction, of eleven wounds which he received in a skirmish, to the deep regret of the king.

Gaudi, born in 1725, at Spandau, was aide-de-camp in the seven years' war to general Hülsen, nay, he may be said to have commanded in his stead, as he guided the gallant veteran by means of his military talents and tactical knowledge. Frederick knew this, and had placed Gaudi, whom he learned early to respect, under Hülsen for that purpose. The king heard that Gaudi kept a diary of military events, and one day ordered Hülsen to procure him a sight of it. The general forgot the injunction, and it was not till next day, when he again went, accompanied by his aide-de-camp, to the king, that he recollected the commission. Luckily, Gaudi had the book about him: Hülsen asked for it, and put it in his pocket. The owner learned accidentally that the king wished to see it. He was under no little alarm, for the book contained free opinions on many military operations, and on the king himself. On the affair of Hochkirch, for instance, he had remarked:— "Here Frederick committed a most stupid blunder." He implored the general to return the book; but Hülsen,

apprehensive lest he should incur his master's displeasure, refused to do so, and delivered it to the king. Frederick kept it several days, which Gaudi passed in continual apprehension of being either arrested, sent to a fortress, or even broke. At length the king returned the book to the general, saying, with much kindness of manner, "I thank you. I am extremely pleased with Gaudi's diary. Tell him so, and say that I consider him as a very clever officer; only 'tis a pity that he knows this himself."

After the battle of Rossbach, in which the king pronounced a correct assertion made by him to be false, Gaudi kept aloof from him. He subsequently fought in Hülsen's corps at the battles of Kunersdorf and Torgau. After the peace, he was promoted to be major-general and commandant of Wesel. Time completely extinguished the old grudge. In 1781, he paid the king a visit of some weeks, and, when he asked the general if he still recollected the battle of Rossbach, he delicately replied: "I remember nothing of that day but that your majesty covered yourself with glory." He died at Wesel in 1788, as lieutenant-general.

In August, 1761, when the king had taken post with his army in the vicinity of Schweidnitz, orders were given to throw up a redoubt in the churchyard of the village of Jauernick; and a great number of men belonging to different regiments were sent to work at it under the superintendence of one officer. In turning up the earth, the men found an old pot. Pulling it out very carelessly, they broke it at the top, and perceived that it contained money. They were ready to seize it, when the officer drove them away, and took charge of

the pot himself, saying that the money which was in it should be fairly divided among them when they were relieved. The men were content. The pot was deposited in the church-porch. The officer retired, pulled off his stockings, put on his boots over his bare feet, poured the money out of the pot unobserved, put his stockings at the bottom of it, and covered them with a small quantity of the pieces of coin. As soon as the men were relieved, they demanded the pot of the officer, who immediately produced it, poured out the money, and showed them that so far from containing nothing else, it was partly filled with old rags. The soldiers loudly declared that they were cheated, which provoked the officer to threaten them with his cane. Just at that moment the king arrived to inspect the redoubt. He inquired what was the matter; the soldiers related the whole affair, and the king desired to see the money and the rags in question. An old grenadier had the latter in his hand. "Your majesty," said he, "these are not old rags, but a pair of worsted stockings, with a name upon them." At the same time he showed them to the king, who distinctly perceived the name with which they were marked. The king ordered the officer to be called, and asked what was his name. The officer mentioned the same that was on the stockings. "Well, then," said his majesty, "it is clear that the money belongs to you. Your ancestors must have buried it here. There is the name upon the stocking, as fresh as if it was only just put into the pot. I'll tell you what, my lads," said he, turning to the soldiers; "let the officer keep his money; I will have the pot filled with two-groschen pieces, and these shall be equally divided among all that are here.

Are you satisfied?" — "O yes, your majesty," was the unanimous reply: and well they might be, for the coins in the pot were old, small, and partly copper. By this expedient the king extricated the officer from the dilemma in which he had involved himself, and left him mute and covered with shame.

One day, in exercising a regiment, a captain committed several blunders. The king was the more surprised, because he knew the officer to be a man of extraordinary punctuality. The mistakes were so egregious, that at last they affected the whole regiment and its movements. Frederick could contain himself no longer. "In the devil's name," cried he, angrily, "what are you about to-day?" The colonel of the regiment, hearing this exclamation, rode up to the king. "Your majesty," said he, "will assuredly overlook any mistakes made by the captain to-day."—"Why so?" — "Poor fellow! just before he came upon parade, he received news of a heavy calamity." — "A calamity! what calamity?" — "His only son was drowned the day before yesterday." —"Almighty God! Yes, that quite alters the case." Thereupon the king immediately commanded "Halt!" rode up to the captain, gave him his hand, and said in a tone of emotion: "My dear captain, I have this moment learned what a misfortune has befallen you. I heartily sympathize with you. The exercise must certainly be arduous, nay, impossible, for you to-day. If you think that it will tend to the comfort of yourself and your wife, go to your country-seat, and stay as long as you please. Your lieutenants have certainly learned sufficient to command the company in your absence."

"Send to me immediately one of your boldest and cle-

verest officers," said the king one day to general Werner, commander of the regiment of brown hussars. "Permit me," said the general, "to ask your majesty for what purpose you want this officer; as that would decide my choice."—"I want him to patrole beyond the enemy's encampment, and to ascertain the precise position of a second corps, about which I can obtain no accurate information." The king added: "Let him come to me at seven this evening." Exactly at that time the officer was announced and immediately admitted. Frederick scrutinized him with his piercing eye from head to foot, and seemed to be somewhat surprised, for the officer's exterior promised no great things. He was small and weakly; and the accent of the broken German in which he introduced himself betrayed the Hungarian. The king nevertheless gave him his instructions, pointing out to him on the map the road that he was to take, and what places he was to go to. The officer listened with great attention to all the directions of his majesty, and retired to carry them into execution. Frederick, however, conceived that he had not thoroughly comprehended him; and on the following day, when he saw general Werner, he expressed himself discontented with his choice, and apprehensive that this officer would scarcely be able to perform the commission to his satisfaction. "I will answer for him, your majesty," replied the general, with the utmost confidence. "Not one of my officers is so well qualified for the business as he."—"Well," rejoined the king, "we shall see."

Two days passed and the officer had not returned. On the third day the time for giving the parole had arrived, and the king was standing amidst his generals,

when he came galloping up. Frederick motioned him to go into his tent, whither he desired several of his generals, and among them Werner, to follow him. The officer stepped up to the table on which the map was spread out, and began in his broken German, but in a straightforward manner, to describe the road which he had pursued, at the same time pointing it out on the map. It led further and further into the enemy's position. But when he represented that he had pushed on to a small town which he named, the king suddenly interrupted him, saying: "I'll tell you what! you are not right in your head to-day. Why, that is the headquarters of general Daun."—"To be sure it is, and I've been there," replied the officer, somewhat nettled at the king's unbelief, and then stated the force of the enemy in that neighbourhood. On retiring, he observed in his vexation to general Werner: "The old one not right in *his* head to-day." The king heard it, smiled, and said: "Yes, I am right enough in my head, but you are not."

Very soon afterwards some deserters arrived. The king was glad of this circumstance, and ordered them to be brought to him immediately, that he might ascertain what credit was due to the report of the hussar officer. To his surprise, all his statements were confirmed. He now sent again for the officer, and questioned him more minutely concerning what he had seen and observed; and the information obtained from him enabled the king to see through and to frustrate the plans of the enemy. From that time he was in high favour with Frederick, notwithstanding the freedom of his remark concerning him.

At a review of the regiments in Prussia in 1753, the

king expressed in rather harsh terms his dissatisfaction with a colonel to whom he had formerly been very gracious. Soon afterwards this officer solicited his dismission on the plea of ill-health, which rendered him unfit for service. The king returned this answer: "My dear colonel, I know you too well not to guess pretty nearly the cause of your illness, which is not of such a nature that you should demand your dismission. The bile has got into your stomach, and there is plenty of means for removing it. If you have no doctors about you skilful enough to effect this, I will take care that one shall be sent to you. Some courage is required for your recovery, and you must be sure to abstain carefully from strong imaginations. When I see you next year at the review you will be better, and you will find that you are able to serve me a little longer." The king added in his own handwriting: "Things do not always go so smoothly with me as I could wish, and therefore I am obliged to continue king. Rhubarb and patience work wonders."

It happened one year that, in the autumnal manœuvres at Potsdam, a lieutenant of cavalry fell from his horse and broke his right arm. Apprehensive lest the king might be displeased if he quitted his post, he bore the intense pain with patience, was assisted to mount his horse again, and left his sword in the sheath; hoping in this manner to pass the king without being noticed by him. When, however, his regiment was defiling before his majesty, Frederick rode up to the lieutenant, and said sharply: "Sir, why have you not drawn your sword?"—"Your majesty, I cannot," replied the officer, calmly. "And why not?"—"I had a fall in the attack,

and have broken my arm." — "That alters the case." Next day the king sent an aide-de-camp to the lieutenant, to desire him to take care of his health, and when he should have recovered, to go to Breslau, where he would join his company with the rank of captain; adding that the intendant of the king's household would bring him the Order of Merit.

In one of the great reviews held a few years before the Bavarian succession war in Silesia, a new and important cavalry manœuvre devised by Frederick himself was to be performed. Eight regiments, partly heavy, partly light cavalry, were drawn out, and an hussar regiment which had gained the highest renown for intrepidity on all occasions formed the left wing. The plan of the king was that all these regiments should pass close to him in divisions, in an oblique direction, at a sharp trot, but at precise distances, to a certain point, where they were to form with the utmost despatch for the attack.

The manœuvre commenced; but one of the first regiments fell into disorder; the divisions became confused, the proper distances were lost, and all the efforts of the officers to restore order were unavailing. As a natural consequence, the confusion was communicated in a greater or less degree to the regiments which followed; and of course that on the left wing, the gallant regiment of W.... hussars, which was the last, passed the king in a way that he could not possibly approve. The last division of this regiment was headed by lieutenant M., an officer of the highest merit, who by his distinguished bravery and good conduct had risen from a private to first lieutenant.

Frederick had expressed extreme displeasure at the scene of confusion, and his anger now concentrated itself against the gallant lieutenant at the head of the last division. Venting his indignation in the severest terms and with uplifted crutch-stick, he galloped towards the officer, who, to avoid any further explosions of the king's rage, immediately turned about and dashed along the line, pursued by the king, whose passion was inflamed to the highest degree. It is possible that the violent exercise of this fruitless chase contributed to mitigate the vehemence of his anger. He became more composed. The regiments had meanwhile drawn up in the best manner they could; and at the king's command a second attempt was to be made to execute the manœuvre; but this time the troops were to wheel to the left, so that the hussar regiment composing the left wing would be the first to move. The manœuvre was now performed in capital style, and the king loudly expressed his satisfaction.

No sooner had the hussars returned to their quarters than lieutenant M. called upon his commander, the gallant general W.* "Well, my dear M.," said the general, "what brings you hither?"—"I am only come to solicit my dismission." The general looked at him in amazement.

"To solicit your dismission! That is a request which I cannot possibly grant, since I have destined you to be adjutant to my regiment: you know that post is vacant."

"I thank you for your confidence, but still I must

* Probably the same general Werner who is mentioned in a preceding anecdote.

beg for my dismission, and request you, sir, to support my petition to his majesty."

"Consider, my son, you have no property: a good civil appointment is not to be met with every day; how will you live?"

"That is a point about which I have no concern. I ask for my dismission. I have good reasons for urging this request, which I should otherwise not have made."

"And what may those reasons be?"

"One of them is quite sufficient—the king would have struck me to-day with his crutch-stick. I narrowly escaped treatment that would for ever have disgraced me. The regiment witnessed this scene; I cannot find fault with any officer who refuses to serve any longer with me. I should be forced into quarrels every day, and that I should not like."

"Well, then, let me make a request in my turn," said the general, giving his hand to the lieutenant. "Be not too hasty. Defer your petition till to-morrow."

The lieutenant promised to follow this advice, once more requested the general to assist him in obtaining his wish, and withdrew.

The king had that day a large company to dinner. General W., a favourite of his, was of the party and sat opposite to his majesty. The conversation turned on the manœuvre. Frederick ascribed the success of the second experiment to the admirable direction which the general's regiment had given to the whole, and bestowed the highest praise both upon it and its commander. The general was of course highly gratified, but observed, with his usual fearlessness, "That capital manœuvre

deprives my regiment of its best officer."—"How so?" asked the king, eagerly. "Lieutenant M., whom your majesty promoted from private hussar to officer on the field of battle, after the affair of Burkersdorf, solicits his dismission."

The general paused. Frederick was silent for some moments. He then asked—"Is the lieutenant really such an excellent officer?"—"I know not one who surpasses him."—"Why does he desire his dismission?" The general explained the cause in the most unreserved manner. The king said no more, and a new subject of conversation was presently started.

The troops were to manœuvre again on the following morning. The regiments were drawn up, and M. was in front of his division, when the king approached. "Is not your name M.?" inquired Frederick. The lieutenant replied in the affirmative. "Hark you, my son," resumed the king, with his peculiar benignity, "you are captain. I would have told you so yesterday, but could not overtake you. You ride like the very devil." With these words he passed on, and M. relinquished all thoughts of applying for his dismission.

A captain, though a very brave fellow, could not conquer a certain embarrassment which seized him whenever he was abruptly addressed, and often caused him to say things that otherwise he would not have done. His company was one of the finest in the regiment, because he paid particular attention to the dress and carriage of his men. One day the king was holding a special review: the companies were drawn up, and the captain in question was making a short speech to his soldiers about their dress. "And now," said he, "I have one thing more to

say to you."—"And what is that, captain?" asked the king, who had approached unobserved by him. The captain, confused and disconcerted, replied—"Your majesty, I was only going to tell my men that they ought to pull their waistcoats well up and their breeches down."—"Pray let that alone," rejoined Frederick, laughing; "I have no Highlanders in my army." It is impossible to convey any idea of the captain's confusion when his lieutenant, after the king was gone, explained to him the blunder which he had committed.

To his officers the king gave comfortable sinecures, provostships, canonries, and civil appointments of various kinds. But the pensions granted to retired officers not only depended on Frederick's pleasure, but were very slender. A general received from 1000 to 1500 dollars; a colonel, sometimes no more than 300; captains, 200. Add to this scanty provision for age the severe garrison duty, attended with so many privations, and we shall be surprised at the ardent enthusiasm manifested for the service and the sovereign by the nobility, which can only be attributed to their high patriotism, their fondness for arms, their whole direction as a privileged class. The officer, moreover, felt himself rewarded by the rank which he enjoyed in the Prussian state. Striking instances attest how highly military rank was estimated during Frederick's reign. Count Schwerin, nephew of the celebrated field-marshal, who was councillor of legation, had a dispute with an ensign about precedence: he complained to the king, and was told that the thing did not admit of a question; that, as a matter of course, ensigns had precedence of all councillors of legation. Schwerin, in consequence, quitted the

civil service, and entered the army as ensign. Count Keyserling, afterwards marshal of the court, whom the king took from a cavalry regiment in which he was lieutenant and placed in the foreign department, solicited the rank of chamberlain: Frederick granted his petition, "though," as the cabinet-order expressed it, "in the king's dominions a lieutenant is above a chamberlain."

This spirit accounts for the eagerness of the nobility to join the Prussian colours, and the extinction of many families. That of Belling, for example, was reduced by the seven years' war from 23 persons of the male sex to 3; all the others fell for their king and country. Many other noble families might make a similar boast, if they chose to recount the deeds of their predecessors.

After the peace of Hubertsburg, the institutions for training cadets, consisting exclusively of the sons of nobles, were augmented and improved. At Stolpe, in Further Pomerania, a new school of cadets was founded in 1764 for 96 young gentlemen; and another at Culm, in 1775, for 56 pupils of the same class. A new building was assigned to the Berlin school of cadets, comprehending 236 youths; that in Potsdam, founded in 1744, for 40, was part of the military orphan-house there. For governors of these houses, Frederick always selected officers of approved merit; and in 1782 he summoned colonel Mosch to Potsdam, "because he wished himself to instruct him how he was to perform his functions." Into the corps of cadets were admitted young gentlemen belonging to all nations, till frequent instances of ingratitude determined the king to exclude foreigners, who in a few years demanded their dismis-

sion and quitted the country. His reasons for this measure he explained at length to Mosch, remarking that the institution was founded solely for the young gentlemen of his own country, and not for foreigners. He always manifested a particular preference for cadets who were natives of Pomerania.

The treatment of the cadets in Frederick's time was extremely harsh, and even severe corporal punishments were deemed not incompatible with nobility, though the governors of the Civil and Military Academy for young Gentlemen were forbidden, upon pain of imprisonment, to strike the pupils, because, as the king himself said, they were young persons of quality, into whom noble sentiments ought to be instilled; such punishments ought therefore to be inflicted as stimulated their sense of honour, without degrading them in their own estimation.

In the institution just mentioned, founded in Berlin in 1765, fifteen promising pupils, partly selected from the corps of cadets, were trained, under the superintendence of five governors, by several professors, mostly French, for the higher military and diplomatic posts. The idea of the institution originated exclusively with the king, who planned the whole system of education, and drew up the instructions for the governors and professors. The governors had been captains in the army, and were of noble birth: professor Toussaint taught logic and rhetoric; Sulzer, metaphysics and morals; de Castillon, junior, mathematics and physics; Stosch, law, particularly the Codex Fredericianus; Wegelin, previously a minister at St.Gall, history and geography; and Thiébault, general grammar and style. At the head

of this academy, in which the king always took a warm interest, he placed the chief of the corps of cadets for the time being. The first was general Buddenbrock, son of the old field-marshal, in whom he placed extraordinary confidence; and to his successor, general Mosch, he wrote, in January, 1786—"For the Academy of the Nobles neither recommendation nor relationship must have any weight: clever heads only must be admitted, and if they disappoint the expectations formed of them, others must be taken in their stead."

Lastly, in 1775, the king founded an *Ecole de Genie*, for training good military architects and engineers; but this institution, which did not prosper, was removed after his death to Potsdam.

These exclusive institutions for youths of noble birth corresponded with Frederick's notions of the nobility in general; which class, at the time of his accession, stood on a much higher step than the commonalty. It was not till a new spirit shook these antiquated notions that the nobles were envied for their allowed claim to all commands in the army: but this was not the case in the middle of the last century. After the peace of Hubertsburg, which formed an epoch in many other respects, the king remodelled his military force, and admitted none but officers of noble birth into the line: the times, however, were then greatly changed. Was the great king not aware of this change, or had he reasons for disregarding it? He says himself, at least, without reserve—"Nothing but the deficiency of nobles, and the number of vacancies in the regiments, rendered it necessary to have recourse during the war to *la roture*—to commoners; but, in order to attain that degree of perfection in the army

which is so important for the welfare of the state, after the peace, all who belonged to the commonalty were removed from the corps of officers to garrison regiments; and, as the country itself could not furnish so many nobles as were required for the army, foreigners from Saxony, Mecklenburg, and the empire, among whom were some good officers, were admitted into the service. The supplement to the infantry regulations, issued in 1779, inculcates the same principle—"Should there be nobles from foreign countries who manifest intelligence, ambition, and a real zeal for the profession, they may be proposed to his majesty for officers, and the commanders must endeavour to engage such for their regiments."

This course would seem to argue a wilful disregard of circumstances, and of the meritorious services rendered to the king in the field by many a brave commoner. Sons of church ministers and inspectors of forests, students, young men conversant with architecture and mining, youths of all classes, whom the glory of the Prussian arms, or a still nobler zeal, impelled even to leave their schools—the Köln Gymnasium in Berlin had on this account no first form for several years—helped to maintain the sanguinary conflict, and, when peace put an end to it, they were turned adrift merely because they were of the *roture*.

At the muster of a regiment, the king once found that one of the officers was a commoner. "You must get rid of that man," said he to the general, "he is not noble." "If," replied the general, "your majesty were to get rid of all such meritorious men as this officer, I could not answer for it that my regiment would in future do its duty."—"Well, then, he must be ennobled," rejoined

the king; and he ordered his diploma to be made out free of expense.

"I know not how it is," said the king one day at table, "that commoners are not good for much as officers, even though I ennoble them."—"Begging your majesty's pardon," replied one of the company, "we have in the army the brave colonel R., who could prove the very reverse." The king appeared to bethink himself, repeated the colonel's name several times, and at length said: "But I'll tell you what; I know better than you; colonel R. is of an old noble family." This was not the case; but we here see with what pertinacity the king would defend a position which he had once taken up.

The king, it is true, has alleged grounds for his conduct. "It is more necessary," he says, "than one may imagine, to pay this attention to the choice of officers, because the nobles are in general men of honour; though it cannot be denied that merit and talent are sometimes to be found in persons not possessing the advantage of birth; this, however, is rare, and in that case it is well to retain them. But in general the noble has no other course left but to distinguish himself by the sword. If he loses his honour, he finds even under the paternal roof no asylum; whereas a *roturier*, when he has done base things, resumes his father's profession without a blush, and deems himself no further disgraced."

It may, moreover, be observed that the poor nobility were at that time very numerous; that, as nobles, trade and the learned professions were closed against them, and that their very poverty excluded them from the universities: it was therefore necessary to provide special

institutions for their education, and to reserve for them appointments in the army. It must also be recollected that Frederick's army, like our own at the present day, was composed of two totally different elements: the common soldier, either picked up all over the world, or taken in the cantons from among the lowest of the people, and in either case wholly unqualified for an officer, being early accustomed to look up to his noble leader as a being of a higher order. The law of the land even laid it down as a principle that all posts of honour belonged in preference to the nobles; and, long after the seven years' war, this principle was insisted upon by Zedlitz, the minister, in a clever essay On the Encouragement of Patriotism in a Monarchy, in which he says, in accordance with the spirit of the times, that of all the citizens in a monarchical state the nobles have the most arduous duties to perform; that the highest appointments, as well civil as military, were for them; that they needed, therefore, an additional spur, and this spur was honour, which excites their courage to contempt of death, and imparts firmness in critical moments.

Notwithstanding this ancient and deep-rooted prepossession, the Prussian army, from 1740 to 1786, exhibited many distinguished officers who were not of noble birth, but who were mostly ennobled before they had risen high; and, though the king, during the latter part of his reign, was from year to year more scrupulous about the quality of his officers, still, in the army-list of 1787, commoners occur here and there, even among the staff-officers and captains of the infantry of the line.

If Frederick adhered on this point to the prejudices in which he had been brought up, how totally different

does he appear as poet, philosopher, historian, friend, and companion; in short, wherever he looked as man upon persons only, and not, with the eyes of the head of the Prussian state, upon birth. Thus, in the Epistle to his brother, the prince of Prussia, he asks: "Talents and virtue—need they ancestors?" And in the same poem he says: "All the human beings with which the earth swarms are children of one father, and form one family; and, notwithstanding all the pride which your rank excites in you, they are all born your equals, they are all of your blood. Let your heart be ever open to their cries of distress, and cover their misery with your wealth: if you would really lift yourself above them, show yourself more humane, more kindly, more virtuous."

In the second Epistle to Hermothime, he says:

> "In vulgar prejudice your mind is wrapt.
> What are your musty parchments but chimeras!
> Merit is in ourselves, not in false goods,
> Which Fortune gives and robs us of at will."

As a rigid scrutinizer of the fortunes of his house, Frederick thus expresses himself: "Methinks, when we inquire into the history of the human mind, the difference of ranks and conditions disappears; kings are nothing but men, and all men are equals." At the commencement of the Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg, the royal author, deeming it beneath him to investigate the obscure origin of his ancestors, says: "In my opinion, all mankind are descended from one equally ancient stock. How many generals, how many ministers of state, from among the commonalty! Europe is full of them, and for that very reason the more happy. Far be it from me to contemn the blood of the Wittekinds, the Charle-

magnes, the Othos; I have, on the contrary, more than one reason to love the blood of heroes; but I love merit more." In his admirable Essay on Education, Frederick says: "In the departments of justice, finance, diplomacy, and in the army, high birth is indeed honoured; but it would be all over with a state, if birth were preferred to merit. From so false, so absurd a principle, any government that should adopt it would reap the most disastrous results;.....for talents are distributed by Nature without regard to ancestry." And in another place he uses this beautiful expression: "Every one who distinguishes himself by virtues and talents is a noble man; and in this sense he may be considered as a Melchisedeck, who had neither father nor mother."

What striking inconsistencies appear in the great king, when considered in his different characters! He who as philosopher could not insist strongly enough on the equality of human nature, and selected his intimate associates purely upon that principle, was severely annoyed as sovereign by unequal matches, and did his utmost to prevent them. With all his prepossessions in behalf of the nobility, he never missed an opportunity of lashing the conceit of rank and title. "During the war," he writes to Voltaire, in 1767, "a contagious disease prevailed in Breslau, and twenty-six persons were buried every day. A certain countess exclaimed: 'God be praised, the nobility are spared! it is only the populace that are carried off.' Such you see are the notions of persons of quality. They fancy themselves made of finer stuff than the people whom they oppress. So it has been in almost all ages." In 1772, he wrote to d'Alembert: "Nobility without acquirements is but an empty title,

which places the ignorant man in the broad light of day, and exposes him to the ridicule of those who are ready to make a laughing-stock of him."

In 1783, count Schulenburg, who had a son a cadet in the Prussian garde du corps, solicited the king to appoint him officer, since, as a count, he certainly deserved such promotion. Frederick thus replied: "I have seen your application on behalf of your son, and must tell you that I have already given orders to admit no counts into my army; for, when they have served a year or two, they go home, and turn out mere swagger and braggadocio. If your son wishes to serve, there is no need for the countship, and he will not obtain promotion unless he regularly learns his profession." Underneath, the king wrote with his own hand: "Young counts who learn nothing are ignoramuses in every country. In England, the son of the king is only a midshipman on board a ship, that he may learn the manœuvres of the service. In case a miracle should take place, and a count turn out well, he must not puff himself up with the idea of title and birth, for these are all fooleries; but every thing depends on personal merit." The midshipman here alluded to was prince William Henry, afterwards duke of Clarence and king William IV.

Frederick was not attentive merely to the preparatory training of future officers; those already in the service had opportunities for cultivating their talents in various ways. In a letter to Fouqué in 1764, the king himself explains how. "Next year," he says, "the common soldiers will be in as good order as before the war. But I direct my especial attention to the officers. To make them hereafter vigilant in the service, and to ex-

ercise their judgment, I have them instructed in fortification; and at the same time they are required to reflect upon all that they have to do. You must be aware that this method cannot be universally successful; but, among the many, we shall train some officers who are not generals merely by their commissions, but really possess the qualities requisite for their station." In another place he says: "That the officers might not be without instruction in fortification, the king at every inspection appointed an officer of engineers to give the young officers such lessons on this subject as they needed. After they had learned the elements of the science, they had to make drawings of all sorts of works suited to the different varieties of ground: they marked out camps, they regulated the march of the columns, and they durst not omit even the advanced posts of the cavalry in their plans. This study extended the sphere of their knowledge, and taught them to think on a large scale; they made themselves familiar with the rules of castrametation, and were acquiring from their youth that information which a general ought to possess."

For this instruction, or, as the king himself expresses it in the regulations of 1779, for these military academies, were selected the cleverest young officers in the regiments, whose commanders were every year required to deliver in a certificate of conduct, stating "whether the officer was a drunkard, whether he had a good understanding and a clear head, or whether he was a stupid fellow." The officers so selected were exempt from duty for the four months succeeding the autumn manœuvres, and devoted themselves entirely to the sciences. The king took such an interest in these studies, that,

whenever he went to Berlin, he made major Tempelhoff, who conducted a principal part of the studies of the officers in Berlin, come with his pupils and their works to the palace, and there examined each individual officer, and made remarks on his performances, encouraging the more clever and industrious, without deterring those who were less forward.

In the separate regiments also the officer found opportunity for improving himself; for, when it was known that the way to gain the favour of the sovereign was to excel in scientific pursuits, there was no lack of competitors. The commanders either attended personally to the instruction of their subordinates, or made the most accomplished of the officers teachers of their comrades. After the peace of Hubertsburg, the chaplains were required to read lectures for at least some hours every week to the ensigns and cadets on christian morals and history.

From among these young officers, trained in the different inspections, Frederick took the most promising to Potsdam, as though to the finishing seminary, where they were to be initiated under his own eye into the highest secrets of the art, and prepared for the honourable vocation of the quarter-master-general's staff, which was remodelled immediately after the war. To keep this corps constantly on a respectable footing, the officers summoned to Potsdam had to make surveys, to draw plans of fortresses, to fortify villages, to entrench heights, to construct ditches defended by palisades, and to arrange the marches of the columns. "But," says the king, "they were particularly expected to examine themselves all morasses and streams, that they might

not make blunders out of negligence, and perhaps support an army on a river that is fordable, or on a morass which infantry may cross without wetting their ancles." This instruction the king continued to give to the cleverest young officers, as after the peace this favourite occupation superseded in some measure the detailed exercise of the first battalion of the guard.

But this latter duty was not disdained by the great king, even at a late period of his life. Dr. Moore, the traveller, who visited Berlin in 1779, says: "A few days ago I happened to take a walk about a mile from the town [Potsdam] and, seeing some soldiers under arms in a field at a small distance from the road, I went towards them. An officer on horseback, whom I took to be the major, for he gave the word of command, was uncommonly active, and often rode among the ranks, to reprimand or instruct the common men. When I came nearer, I was much surprised to find that this was the king himself. He had his sword drawn, and continued to exercise the corps for an hour after. He made them wheel, march, form the square, and fire by divisions and in platoons, observing all their motions with infinite attention; and, on account of some blunder, put two officers of the prince of Prussia's regiment in arrest. In short, he seemed to exert himself with all the spirit of a young officer, eager to attract the notice of his general by uncommon alertness."

Frederick expected the officer to be such in the full extent of the word, and not to follow any but professional pursuits. A captain once presented to him a paper on the length and breadth of the sea, and solicited permission to send it to the Royal Society of London.

"That you may do," replied the king; "but next spring I shall inspect your company, and, if I find your thoughts out at sea, when they ought to be on the land where you dwell, you will have to do with me, and not with the Royal Society. For the rest, I advise you, as a friend, to give up such pursuits as are not connected with your profession, and to stick to those only which especially belong to your vocation."

Complaints were made to the king that another officer was fond of shooting in other people's grounds. He bottled up this information till the next review. When the officer in question was marching past him with his men, Frederick cried out: "Good God! march as you ought to do. You walk exactly as if you were sneaking after a hare. You are so fond of poaching, that you quite forget the military step."

Two second lieutenants arrived one day at the same time from different places with despatches for the king. One of them went to his majesty just as he was; the other had his clothes and boots brushed and cleaned first. Frederick eyed them both. "How did you come?" was his first question. "On horseback," replied one of them. "That *you* did, I see plainly," rejoined the king; "but your comrade," pointing to the other, "travelled in a sedan-chair, I suppose . . . Very well, you may go." Then, turning to the former, he added: "You are first lieutenant."

Frederick could not endure needless luxury in his officers, conceiving that a fop cannot possibly be a good soldier. One day, as a regiment of the garrison of Berlin was filing off before him, he observed an officer with a long watch-chain, and a large bunch of seals attached to

it. "What have you got there?" he asked. "It is my watch-chain, your majesty."—"So! I really thought it was a ring of bells that you are carrying with you. Lay aside those baubles."

On the other hand, the king was fond of assisting poor officers. At a special review of a regiment, previously to the seven years' war, observing an ensign who looked old for that grade, he inquired his age, and how long he had served. "I have served 9 years, and am 26 years old," was the reply. Frederick looked stedfastly at him for some moments, and then turned to the commander of the regiment. "Why," he asked, "has not this ensign been proposed for promotion? Has he committed any faults, or played stupid tricks?"—"By no means, your majesty. He is remarkably attentive to his duty, possesses the requisite attainments, and conducts himself in the most exemplary manner."—"Why then has he not been proposed?"—"He is too poor, sire, to pay for his equipment."—"Pshaw! poor!" exclaimed the king, angrily; "why was I not told that? Poverty is no cause for keeping him back, if he is deserving. I will provide for his equipment." He immediately promoted the young man, ordered one hundred frederics d'or to be paid him to defray his equipment, inquired after him at every review, and was evidently delighted with the favourable accounts which he received concerning him.

Frederick was not easily led into false steps, even by his generals. A lieutenant, who had been sent abroad with a considerable sum of money to purchase horses for the army, lost the money with which he was entrusted at the gaming-table, and, after an investigation of his

conduct, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in a fortress. Two generals interceded with the king in behalf of the culprit, representing that he was nearly related to them, and that his punishment was a disgrace to the whole family. "Then he is nearly related to you, is he?" said Frederick. "Yes, your majesty," replied one; "he is my own sister's son, and after his father's death I brought him up till he entered the regiment." — "So nearly related as that?" repeated the king; "and brought up too by so excellent a man? That alters the case. Then the young gentleman shall be kept in confinement till I am sure that he is amended." This was such a turn as the intercessors had not expected. Disappointment was visible in both their faces: they knew not what to say. "The man," resumed the king, "who, belonging to such a family, and having had such an education, can commit so gross a crime, must be thoroughly depraved and incorrigible."

Frederick expected his engineers in particular to be men of the strictest honour, and on this account the delinquencies of Wallrawe and others made an impression upon his mind that was never effaced.

Wallrawe was a native of the Netherlands, and was engineer in the Dutch service during the Spanish succession war. At the siege of Douai, in 1710, he belonged to the corps of Dutch troops which attacked the fortress in conjunction with those of Brandenburg under the old Dessauer. At the instigation of this prince, the king of Prussia took him, in 1714, into his service as captain of engineers. He was soon promoted to the rank of colonel and ennobled. In the first Silesian war, he conducted the siege of Brieg; after the reduction of that fortress,

he was promoted to be major-general, and subsequently charged with the construction of new fortresses and works in Silesia and at Magdeburg. A debauchee, and always in want of money, he is said to have sold plans of the Prussian fortresses to foreign courts; but so much is certain, that he was guilty of great peculation, arrested on this charge, and confined in the Star at Magdeburg, which he had himself built. There he died in 1773, bequeathing a considerable property to the king, who immediately ordered it to be divided among officers having no other income than their pay. The governor inquired where the deceased should be buried. "Bury him where you please," replied Frederick, "only not in the works of the fortress; for I would not trust the rascal though he is dead."

An officer of the French engineers, who had been admitted into the Prussian service in the like capacity, thought to ingratiate himself with the king by presenting him with plans of various French fortresses. "I thank you for your present," said Frederick, "but never shall you set foot in my fortresses, as you make so bad a use of your talents. You may train my sappers and miners; that is what I will employ you to do."

The king sincerely lamented the sacrifices of war; and humanity was the first duty that he recommended to his officers on his accession to the throne. On the march to Collin, the day being intensely hot, an old grenadier dropped down insensible. A subaltern was ordered to look to his things and help to carry them, and a surgeon administered restoratives. Being somewhat revived, but still too weak to rise, he begged to be allowed to lie a few minutes longer. An ensign went to him, and in harsh

language ordered him to get up and follow the corps. The king, who was just riding past, heard the unfeeling expressions and was shocked by them. He bade the ensign "go to the devil," and ordered the grenadier to be set on a horse, saying: "My men shall be treated with humanity." The ensign was immediately removed from the regiment.

In an arduous march towards the end of autumn from Bohemia, a cannon stuck fast in a hollow way, and all efforts to extricate it proved fruitless. An officer beat one of the artillerymen on this account in the most barbarous manner, using at the same time coarse execrations. The king, who chanced to witness this scene, desired some of his people as well as the officer to dismount and to lend a hand to get the cannon out of the hole. Success attended their united exertions. Next morning, the officer was summoned to the head-quarters, and the king said to him, in the presence of the assembled corps of officers: "My army is composed only of men, but you are a monster. You are cashiered. Go to the devil!"

The regiment of the garde du corps was one of those which, when in the field, were near the person of the king: he consequently knew almost every man belonging to it. Two subalterns in particular attracted his notice, having highly distinguished themselves by their intrepidity in advanced guards and patroles. One day he asked baron Wacknitz, commander of the regiment, how these men conducted themselves in other respects. "They are two excellent fellows, your majesty," replied the colonel. "They are exemplary for their morals; they are modest, have had a university education, and it was only out of patriotism and fondness for the profession

that they entered the army. They have served a considerable time, and I take the liberty of proposing them to your majesty for promotion as officers."—"Well," replied the king, "you may propose them to me on the first opportunity." Soon after this conversation, Wacknitz solicited his dismission, that he might enter into the Hessian service. It was granted, and colonel Schätzel was appointed to succeed him in the command of the garde du corps. Schätzel was, what is no uncommon case, a decided antagonist to his predecessor, and of course had abundance of fault to find with his plans and arrangements. The king, who had not forgotten the two subalterns, one day asked Schätzel what he thought of them. "They are good soldiers," replied the colonel, "but in other respects men of the most ordinary stamp." "Schätzel! Schätzel!" exclaimed the king, in a stern tone of reproof, "I recommend to you Wacknitz's love of truth. In that man I have sustained a great loss."

In a village in Saxony, the king once rescued Wacknitz from a house that was on fire, and when the colonel would have thanked him, Frederick stopped his mouth, saying: "Don't mention it: what I have done is no more than we all ought to do for one another."

Towards the citizens, of whatever class or religious persuasion, the military were not allowed to assume airs, and the king most expressly forbade officers or men to resort to violence.

Major Lutz, a daring partisan, had done a great deal of mischief to the Austrians during the seven years' war, and had, of course, made himself extremely obuoxious to them. He was once posted on the Bohemian frontiers, not far from a convent situated on the summit of a hill,

the other side of which was occupied by the enemy. All the patroles which he sent out in that direction were sure to find themselves opposed by twice as strong a detachment of the enemy. It was evident, therefore, that the Austrians must have previous and precise information of the force of his detachments. Many a brave hussar lost his life in the unequal conflict. At length, Lutz learned by accident that the monks in the convent were accustomed to give the enemy's commander signals with the little bell, by which they apprised the Austrians of the strength and the hour fixed for the departure of the Prussian patroles. Boiling with rage, he ordered the horses to be saddled immediately; he would plunder and burn the convent, and force the monks to put on the uniform as recruits, that he would. At the head of his corps, on the point of taking his revenge, he met the king. Struck by his flushed and excited look and the haste of his men, Frederick inquired whither he was going. "I am going," replied Lutz, who could scarcely speak plainly for passion, "to make a signal example of the scoundrels."—"And, pray, who are these scoundrels?" He then explained the matter to the king, and told him how he meant to revenge himself. "Lutz," said Frederick, sternly, "I forbid you to do that. I am not at war with the monks. One thing you may do. Bring the warden and some of the elders of the community to me: I will say a few words to them, and I hope you will have no more ringing." Lutz obeyed with great reluctance, and conducted the monks to the king, who was just sitting down to dinner. He gravely represented to them the culpability of their conduct, adding: "The slightest signal that you give the enemy in future will draw upon

you the vengeance of this officer," pointing to Lutz. From that moment there was no more ringing.

A Jew in a small town was frequently abused and grossly ill-treated by an officer, because he refused to lend him any more money. The Jew complained repeatedly of this usage to the commander of the regiment, but was always told that he was a fool to have any dealings with officers, and to go about his business. At length, he represented his case to the king. "What bad order you keep up in your regiment!" wrote Frederick to the colonel. "Your officers insult my loyal subjects, who are obliged to support you and me. I advise you to put an end to this immediately, and to keep the young ensigns under discipline, or you will have an account to settle with me. Protect the Jew in particular from further annoyance, for this subject is as dear to me as any other; do you know that? Conform most strictly to my directions, and let this be a warning and a lesson to you."

Riding one day in the park at Berlin, the king met a young officer whom he knew; instead of being, as usual, lively and full of spirits, he appeared pensive and dejected. "What ails you?" inquired the king; "you look as though you had met with some great misfortune!" "And that is really the case, your majesty," rejoined the officer, emboldened by the mild tone of the monarch. "I am ordered to call upon general Ramin this evening, and expect, for the first time in my life, to be put under arrest for some days."—"What have you been doing?"—"Nothing, your majesty; I only gave my impertinent landlady a box on the ear: that is all." The king said nothing. The officer, mustering courage, proceeded: "If your

majesty would have the goodness to direct general Ramin to overlook the affair, I should be rid of all my trouble." "My son," replied Frederick, "it seems you know nothing about General Ramin: he is not to be trifled with. I assure you that if any one was to complain of me, he would not hesitate to put me under arrest myself."

General Ramin, who was at this time commandant of Berlin, furnished on another occasion a proof how highly Frederick appreciated servants who scrupulously performed their duty. Numerous accidents had happened in Berlin through rapid driving. Ramin adopted an infallible method of putting a stop to it. Whenever a coachman drove too fast, and acted contrary to the prohibition, he was stopped, no matter who might be in the carriage, taken to the guard-house, and punished with twenty-five lashes. The coachman of a foreigner of high distinction had one day been guilty of this kind of transgression. He was pulled from the box, and received the merited chastisement. His master, highly indignant, went to the king himself to complain of the governor. "I am sorry," replied Frederick, "that your complaint is about precisely this officer. He is an excellent man, but rough, and in matters of duty he will stand no joking."

Like all great generals, Frederick seldom forgot a soldier who had once attracted his notice. In the first Silesian war, wrapped in his cloak, he was one night visiting the posts with an aide-de-camp. They came to a battery, where the chief gunner was walking to and fro, to keep himself awake. While conversing with this man, the king observed a considerable fire in the quarter towards the enemy. "Do you know what that means?"

he inquired. "I do not," replied the gunner, "but I can fire a white linstock in that direction, and in the morning we may easily make out what it was." — "Do so," said the king, and rode on. Next morning the linstock was looked for, and the neighbourhood of the spot where it lay carefully explored. The remains of a fire were found, and traces indicating that an enemy's piquet had been stationed there. It came again the following night, and the men composing it were taken. Long after the seven years' war, Frederick, visiting one day the arsenal in Berlin, asked about the guns taken in a certain engagement. A major who was present immediately pointed out the cannon which had been cast out of those guns, and mentioned several circumstances of the battle. "Were you there?" asked the king. "O yes, I remember. You were gunner in the guard. Do you recollect marking with a white linstock the spot where I saw a fire, and where next night we took a piquet of the enemy's?"

A rare instance of goodness of heart in the occupant of a throne is exhibited in the following circumstance. The widow of an officer whom the king had esteemed wrote to him, intimating that she was advanced in years, and suffering severely from gout, which, as he knew, was a very painful disorder; that her two daughters supported her, scantily enough to be sure, by the labour of their hands; that they were not in good health, and, if they were to die before her, she must perish for want. She, therefore, solicited speedy relief. Frederick immediately returned this answer to the petitioner:—"I am very sorry to hear of your poverty and distress, as well as of your infirmity. Why did you not apply to me

long ago. At present there is no pension to give away, but I must assist you, for the sake of your excellent husband, whose loss I very much lament. I will retrench a dish every day from my table: this will amount to 365 dollars a year, and the payment of that sum, with which you must be content till a pension becomes vacant, shall commence with the first of next month, for which I have given orders."

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The Privates of the Prussian Army — Barbarous Military Punishments — Consequent Aversion to the Service—Enthusiasm of the common Soldiers for the person of the King—Anecdotes of his condescension, familiarity, and kindness — Though inculcating strict discipline, he was an enemy to cruelty—Provision for the spiritual edification of the Soldiers—Disbanding of Partisan Corps at the peace—Hospital for Invalids—Intercessions of the King in behalf of old Soldiers—Vindication of the King from a charge of wilfully neglecting his Wounded Men — His attention to the Medico-chirurgical department of the Army.

The privates of the Prussian army, composed of the scum, not only of the native population but of all other countries, could not present a very grateful spectacle. Fear of punishments, some of them extremely cruel, was the only curb to the hardened miscreant. Hence the officer was led into the most revolting severities, the demoralized soldier into the most audacious excesses. The consequence was, that the men seized every opportunity to rid themselves of their tormentors by desertion; and, as that was rendered very difficult, some of them even had recourse to suicide. We learn from Preuss that the regiment of the guard, one of the most distinguished and the most favoured in the army, and in which desertion in time of peace was rendered most difficult, lost from that cause, between the year 1740 and 1800, 3 officers, 93 subalterns, 32 musicians, and 1525 privates; and that, during the same period, there were 130 suicides, and 29 soldiers executed for different crimes, chiefly child-murder. They had a notion that if they put an end to their own lives, they should incur everlasting punishment, whereas the spirit of the inno-

cent child whose life they took would be sure to go to heaven, and they should have time to repent, and make their peace with God, before they suffered for the crime.

Persons possessing any delicacy of feeling were deeply shocked at the daily exhibitions of running the gauntlet, caning, and other punishments. Even in Potsdam this brutal spirit, transmitted down from the school of the old Dessauer, ruled with such vigour as long as Frederick lived, that when the new queen, consort of Frederick William II., was receiving condolences and congratulations, she turned to major Kunitzki, who had just been appointed commander of the first battalion of the royal life-guard, and said: "The battalion could not have fallen into better hands. I hope that you may soon make it forget the torments which it has endured under general Scheelen."

It is doubly remarkable that other states sought in the military punishments of the Prussians the source of the glory acquired by them in the seven years' war. France adopted them when on the threshold of a new era, but many of the subalterns chose rather to be reduced to the ranks, than to take upon them the office of executioner. At Lille, the grenadiers of a regiment of four battalions shed tears of rage at the new regulations, and their commander, the duke de Vauguyon, wept along with them: nay, another French officer, who was ordered to give a soldier twenty-five lashes, plunged his sword into his own body after the twenty-fourth.

It is true that, before the great king quitted the stage, more liberal sentiments in regard to the treatment of the common soldier had begun to gain ground. This is proved by a circular of general Möllendorf's, dated

Berlin, June 10th, 1785. "For two years past," he says, "that is, ever since I have been governor of this capital, it has been one of my first cares, for the honour of humanity, to put an end to the tyrannical and barbarous conduct of the officers to the privates; and I confess with pleasure that in six regiments of this garrison I have perceived evident fruits from my efforts. In one regiment only, which I will not now name, the old practice, founded on erroneous notions, of keeping the common soldier to his duty by barbarous flogging, caning, and abusive language, is still the fashion. But I warn the commander who has hitherto pursued this practice to desist from it, and to lead the private soldier more by ambition than by tyranny to that discipline and military dexterity which his majesty requires. The king has no scoundrels, blackguards, dogs, and clodpoles in his service, but honest soldiers, as we are too, only that chance has given us higher characters. For among the common soldiers many are as good, and some might perhaps be a great deal more clever than we. Every officer ought to rejoice in being the leader of soldiers eager after honour; but he is not so if he degrades those whom he commands into so low a race of men."

It is obvious that, under such circumstances, the soldier could not be fond of his profession. To watch doubtful men was a heavy task for the officers, both in garrison and in the field; and the king opens the military instructions for his generals with 14 rules for preventing desertion, as an essential part of their duties; without which all other qualifications for commanders would be unavailing. Nevertheless, in adverse circumstances, or for the sake of a fresh bounty, the men ran

off in whole bodies, and especially during the Bavarian succession war, before the face of the king himself.

How odious the service was to natives of the country is attested by many ordinances; but neither that which decreed confiscation of the property of those who assisted deserters, nor that against cutting off the thumb to get free from the detested profession, could put a stop to those practices. Others thought to escape by giving themselves out for skinners' and executioners' men: but even this self-imposed infamy did not protect them in the Bavarian succession war from compulsory enrolment in the partisan corps.

Notwithstanding this dislike of the service, arising from the barbarity with which the common soldiers were treated, Frederick contrived by his condescension, familiarity, and kindness, to excite in them such an enthusiasm for his person, that they were ready to confront any danger, and even death itself, at his bidding. "Papa," and "our good old Fritz," were the usual names by which they called him. Numerous anecdotes illustrative of the mutual familiarity subsisting between the king and his soldiers are already sprinkled through this work. The reader will not be displeased to find a few more collected here, which appear too characteristic to be omitted.

The soldiers, when in the field, often made very free with the king in their language, but none of them took such liberties as the life-guard. Just before the battle of Leuthen, Frederick, deeply engaged in serious conversation with generals Wedel and Zieten, was riding past the first battalion of the guard, while marching to the fight. The silence was suddenly broken by a soldier

who shouted to another—"I say, Stephen!"—"Well, what now?" cried the man thus addressed. "Make a collection in thy company."—"Pooh! who for?"—"Stupid, canst not see? Why, Fritz's coat-lining is all to pieces." All eyes were at once turned to the king, who was riding close enough to hear every word. The men's tongues now threw off all restraint. One thought his hat too shabby, and that he ought to have a new one; a second said that his waistcoat, too, was not good for much; a third declared that his breeches wanted brushing, and so forth. "Ay," said the jester of the first company, "if one of us was to come to the parade in that plight, I fancy Fritz would rap his knuckles soundly for him." At that moment the word of command—"Halt! Shoulder arms!" put an end to the sarcastic chat of the soldiers, and perfect silence ensued. The first cannon-shot followed, and the battle commenced.

We are told by a person who was present, that, on the march from Schweidnitz to Lusatia, in 1760, he heard the king frequently say, in the Low German dialect—"*Grad uut, kinder! grad uut!*—Heads up, my lads! heads up!"—"Head up, you, Fritz!" was their reply; and an hussar, to whom the king addressed the same reproof, said to him—"Head up, you, Fritz, and heels up too!" The king only laughed at these freedoms.

While Frederick was encamped at Bunzelwitz, the army was in want of every necessary. The soldiers received only small rations of bread, of which they made a sort of porridge. Of course they were all anxious to be released from this situation. One evening, the king, going his rounds in the camp, as usual, passed two hussars who were talking together. "Brother," said one of

them, while munching a crust of bread, "this is devilish hard fare. We are famished till our ribs are ready to start through the skin. I can't bear it any longer, for my part."—"My son," cried the king, "only have patience: things can't last long thus. Besides, I fare no better myself."—"Indeed!" rejoined the soldier, incredulously. "Is the provision-waggon empty, then, that comes every morning for your majesty and the generals?" The king made no reply, but passed on, as though he had not heard or not understood the question.

It was in the same camp that, late one evening, the king was pensively going his round with Zieten among the watch-fires. A horse-soldier was busily engaged in baking a cake made of flour and lard. "Thy cake smells invitingly," said Frederick, in a mild tone, to the soldier. "I dare say it does," replied the man, without looking round, "but not a bit of it shall stick in thy teeth."—"What the devil art thou thinking of?" cried some of his comrades. "Why, it is the king!" The man supposed them to be joking, and, still without looking up, rejoined—"And, if it is the king, what then?" —"We shall hardly get an invitation to supper here," said Frederick to Zieten; "let us continue our walk."

When the king was cooped up by the Russians in the entrenched camp near Schweidnitz, he caused the tents to be struck every evening, repaired himself to a battery, and there passed the night in the open air. One night, wrapped in his cloak, he was seated on the ground near a fire, evidently very weary and apparently disposed to sleep. A soldier of the Wolfersdorff regiment, perceiving this, said to the king—"I will make your majesty a pillow."—"And how wilt thou contrive that?" asked

the king. The soldier took off his knapsack and placed it in such a manner that his majesty could lay his head upon it. He could not sleep, however, and talked with the soldier about his home, his services, and various other subjects. Encouraged by this familiarity, the man ventured to put several bold questions, which were answered with great condescension. In this manner the following dialogue took place.

"If your majesty should ever be taken prisoner, how would you be obliged to ransom yourself, as you are a king?"

"As general; nothing more."

"How! I cannot believe that. You are more than general."

"No; no more. With the army I am merely general."

The soldier shook his head. "But," said he, "they would find a handsome booty about you."

"No, indeed; I have not a groschen about me."

"Your majesty is only joking. No money about you, indeed!"

"No, I tell thee, not a kreutzer." [Here the king turned his pockets inside out.] "There, thou seest that I tell thee the truth."

"That is curious. But you have a beautiful ring there: that must be worth something."

"Well, and what dost thou suppose it to be worth? Guess."

The king held out his hand, that the man might examine the ring.

"That ring cost, perhaps, ten thousand dollars."

"Stupid fellow! Thou shalt have it for five hundred, and then I should get a profit upon it."

" That's what I never can believe. It is not true."

" Nothing more true. Look here, I will show thee. These small stones are worth three hundred and some odd dollars; the large one in the middle is a table-stone, which cost at most thirty dollars; and that is all, except the metal, which is of little value."

" Upon my word, I could not have thought it."

By this time morning had dawned. The king rose, and ordered an aide-de-camp who had just come with the report to give the soldier a frederic d'or. " There," said he to him, " dost thou not see now that I have no money ?"

A musqueteer having made prize to the amount of about forty dollars in gold, which he had taken from the French officers at Rossbach, sewed it up secretly in the lining of his uniform. Rejoicing in the possession of this treasure, he marched with the army to Parchwitz, shortly before the battle of Leuthen. Here he was persuaded by his comrades to play, and was so unlucky as to lose great part of his money. Hoping to retrieve his loss, he continued to play, with increasing eagerness and ardour, but with no better success, so that he was obliged to bring one piece of money after the other out of its hiding-place till they were all gone. He could not bear the idea of having thus lost in a moment a treasure to which his heart clung so fondly, and was overwhelmed with despair. His first thought was to shoot himself. Taking his loaded musket, with another strong charge, he stole out of his quarters, through the garden, to the back of a barn, where he intended to effect his purpose. It so happened that the king, riding out to reconnoitre, came that way. Perceiving the soldier at a

distance, he rode quickly up to him. "Thou! what are thou about here?" he cried. The man, as if thunderstruck, dropped his piece, and stood mute before the king. Frederick, guessing his design, immediately inquired—"Why wouldst thou have committed such an act?" The musqueteer then related all that had happened, adding, that he had intended, as soon as the army was in winter-quarters, to send his booty to his aged father and his blind sister, for their support: but, as he had gambled it all away, and deprived himself of that satisfaction, despair urged him to put an end to his life. The king was much affected by the frank confession of the soldier, and ordered lieutenant-colonel Krusemark to give him the amount that he had lost, saying—"Thou art yet young and may'st serve me many years: be ashamed of thy present fault, which I will forgive thee. Go quietly back to thy quarters. I will see to it that thy sister shall be supplied."—"Ah, your majesty," rejoined the soldier, "I shall be punished when I get back." —"Gentlemen," said the king, turning to his suite, "let no one mention this circumstance." Then, addressing the man, he concluded—"Serve me faithfully and behave well, and I will provide for thee."

Frederick, riding out one day to reconnoitre, crossed a meadow in the rear of his camp, where a number of horses belonging to the baggage-train were grazing. The men who should have looked after them were lying in the shade of some trees fast asleep all but one. The latter, on perceiving the king, strove to wake his comrades, but his efforts were thrown away on most of them. "Jump up; here's the king!" said he to one of them, shaking him roughly. "What do I care for the old one!"

growled the fellow, too drowsy to open his eyes. "He has no business with me. If it was the lieutenant, then indeed——" Frederick was near enough to overhear these words. "How long has this man been asleep?" he inquired. "Ever since sunrise," was the reply. "Surely that is long enough; it is now near noon."—"He is to be envied," said the king; and then turning to one of the generals who accompanied him, he observed: "We are not so lucky."

After the battle of Liegnitz (in 1760), the king observed a grenadier, wrapped in a cloak, riding in state upon a horse which was led by a man in a clerical wig and a black dress. The king concluded that it was a regimental chaplain, for such he must be from his appearance, who had given up his horse to a grenadier. He rode up and inquired: "What manœuvre is this?"—"Your majesty," answered the chaplain, "I found my countryman here on the field of battle with his foot shattered, and put him upon my horse to take him to some place where he can get it dressed. His father is bellows-blower in the church where my father is minister."—"'Tis nobly done," rejoined the king: "but you must not lead the horse any further. The waggons have come to carry the wounded from the field."

An aide-de-camp was immediately despatched to order up one of the waggons, and the wounded grenadier was lifted into it. He would have returned the cloak lent him by the chaplain, but the latter, mounting his horse, told him he had better keep it. He was about to ride off to rejoin his regiment, when Frederick desired that he would keep near him. As they rode along, he asked a great number of questions, which the chaplain answered

to his entire satisfaction. After a long conversation, the king permitted him to go back to his regiment, which occupied a small town, where it was to stay some days. Next morning he was invited to dine with the commander, and was not a little surprised when the colonel handed to him in the king's name a handsome cloak in compensation for that which he had given to the wounded soldier. Two years afterwards, through the favour of the king, who recollected the occurrence, he was appointed to a very good living.

On the march to Collin, in 1757, the king saw a gray-headed subaltern belonging to the regiment of Bevern following it at a distance, and to appearance extremely tired. "What is the matter with you?" said the king to him. "I am old and weak; marching knocks me up," replied the veteran. "How long have you served?" inquired the king. "Five and forty years, during the whole reign of your majesty's father, and I was with your majesty in all the Silesian campaigns."—"So! when we get into winter-quarters, you shall be invalided, and have some good appointment."—"Many thanks to your majesty, but that would be the greatest disgrace you could put upon me. Let me live and die a soldier." Pleased at the expression, Frederick smiled. "'Tis strange of you, too, when you might live comfortably, and nurse yourself in your old age."—"That is just what I am not used to; and, besides, I can't write." The king said no more, rode away, and was engaged in giving the necessary orders, so that the veteran might well suppose he would never think any more of this conversation. Towards evening, however, the king sent him a horse that he might ride on marches, and the baggage train had orders to

supply him with fodder. In the course of the following winter, he appointed him senior lieutenant of a garrison regiment.

A soldier of the first battalion of the guard had an ulcer on his left shoulder, which prevented him from carrying his piece in the exact position that was required. This the king observed in exercising, and desired the man to hold his musquet properly; but, in spite of all the poor fellow's efforts, the violence of the pain would not permit him to do so. The king, attributing his involuntary non-compliance to obstinacy, was angry, went up to the man, and struck him several times with his cane, saying: "Will you not hold your piece upright?"—"Your majesty," replied the soldier, "I am not accustomed to be struck with a cane; and you are acting contrary to your own orders, which direct that the sword only shall be used for that purpose." The king, still more incensed than before, ordered the man to be immediately put under arrest. Next morning, he was asked what was to be done with the offender. "Let him remain in the guard-house," said he, "till I give further orders about him." He continued three weeks under arrest. Meanwhile, the king was informed that the pain of the ulcer alone had prevented him from holding his piece properly. On learning this circumstance, Frederick ordered the soldier to be conducted from garrison to garrison, under an escort of a subaltern and two men, as far as Colberg. On his arrival there, he was taken to the commandant, van der Heyden, who showed him the king's order, appointing him lieutenant, and directing 200 dollars to be paid him for his equipment. The new officer distinguished himself greatly at

the siege of Colberg, and thus strove to show his gratitude for his majesty's bounty.

A grenadier of the first battalion of the guard, named Herzog, was one day on duty in the king's garden at Potsdam. His sweetheart went to him at his post, and he was toying with her, when all at once she gave a shriek of alarm and took to her heels. Herzog started, looked round, and was more terrified than the girl — the king was behind him, and not above six paces off. Hastily shouldering his piece, he faced, and presented arms. "What have you been at, fellow? You must know how strictly I have forbidden such doings!"—"For God's sake, your majesty," replied the trembling sentinel, "don't tell my captain! He is too severe; he would certainly have me flogged to death!" The king laughed at this *naïve* appeal, and every pay-day allowed the man eight groschen (a shilling) extra out of his privy-purse.

Frederick himself, though well aware of the necessity of rigid discipline in an army, was, as we have seen, an enemy to despotism and cruelty in the officers. "Order," he says, "cannot subsist in an army without severity. How would all the dissolute and depraved, all the scoundrels and cowards, all the foolhardy and brutally stupid, all the men of the most incongruous characters and dispositions, be kept to their duty unless by the fear of punishment! The greatest part of an army consists of indolent fellows. If a general does not keep them incessantly to their duty, the machine, though ever so perfect, soon gets out of order. One ought, therefore, to accustom one's-self to be continually at work; and he who does this will see, from experience, how necessary it is: he will daily find abuses to check which another does not

see, because he does not take the trouble to look after them. This close and constant application seems arduous, it is true; but the general who submits to it will find himself amply rewarded. And what an advantage he has over an enemy by means of such excellent troops when they are well disciplined!"

A lesson on this subject, given by the king to general Uchtländer, on appointing him commander of the Pomeranian regiment of infantry, No. 30, which had signalized itself in the battle of of Kesselsdorf, is too characteristic to be omitted. "I give you," said Frederick, to that officer, "a good and brave regiment; it is now your duty to take care that it continues to be good and brave. Men easily degenerate when they are not kept under discipline, and therefore you must not neglect this. To the officers you must not be too indulgent, or they will run wild. If this hedge [pointing to one] were not to be cut for one or two years, do you suppose that it would look as it does now? I make you gardener to the regiment that I commit to your care; you must not cut away any thing useful, but wait to see how it will turn out. Next year I shall see you and your regiment again, and then we will have further talk about our gardening."

"There are cases enough," observed the king, on another occasion, "in which one is obliged to be severe; but one need never be cruel. I wish in the day of battle to be more loved than feared by my soldiers." Numberless anecdotes attest how well Frederick understood the art of gaining the affections of his men by his personal qualities; the following circumstance will show that he was not less skilful in stifling the first symptoms of insubordination.

Some restless heads among the guard had combined for the purpose of extorting certain privileges to which they had no just claim. Regardless of the punishment to which they exposed themselves according to the articles of war, they went in a body to Sans-Souci. The king perceived them at a distance, and their excited state betrayed some reprehensible design. With great presence of mind, and with equal goodness of heart, wishing to be spared the necessity of having recourse to the rigour of the law, he took up his sword, put on his hat, went to meet them on the terrace in front of the palace, and, before the spokesman could open his mouth, gave the word of command, "Halt!" The whole troop stood stock-still. "Fall in!" cried the king. They obeyed. "To the left wheel!" he continued. "March!" and away they marched down the steps. The stern look and flashing eye of the royal commander had disconcerted them to such a degree, that they were glad to get off so easily.

For the spiritual edification of the soldiers, whether in the field or in garrison, ample provision was made. In every hospital there was a Protestant and Catholic minister, to visit the sick and to refresh the dying with the last consolations of the church. In garrison there was service every Sunday, and the sacrament was administered once a fortnight. In places where there was a Catholic church, a subaltern was sent thither with the soldiers of that communion; and in war time the chaplains said prayers morning and evening. The king always caused victories to be solemnly celebrated. The troops were drawn up and fired a feu de joie; the infantry formed a circle, and sang the old Lutheran hymn, *Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott* — "A tower of

strength art thou our God;" the chaplain-general then delivered a discourse, after which all present joined in the German Te Deum—*Herr Gott, dich loben wir*—"Lord God, thy praise we sing;" accompanied by trumpets and kettle-drums.

No sooner was peace concluded, than great dissatisfaction was excited by the disbanding of the partisan corps, raised during the war, and amounting to 24 battalions and 30 squadrons. They were composed of men belonging to all nations, had fought with Prussian valour, and several of them had highly distinguished themselves. With the exception of three, retained for garrison duty, they were disbanded without indemnity, and most of them, to the general scandal, in Berlin. The indignation of the poor fellows was the more vehement, because the king had promised that several of these corps should be retained. Count Haerd, for instance, plumply declares in a letter to the king, dated the 21st of March, 1763, that he (the king) had expressly assured him on the 20th of April, 1758, that his corps should be kept up after the war. His satisfaction with the services of these corps Frederick expresses repeatedly, in his history of the seven years' war, and still more uuequivocally on occasion of the Bavarian succession war, when he again caused partisan corps to be raised. In spite of fresh promises, these experienced the same fate as their predecessors. Both in 1763 and 1779, the officers wandered about utterly destitute. By this severe stroke, the distinguished leaders and founders of these corps, Kleist, Count Haerd, Quintus Icilius, Bawr, and other honourable men, felt themselves deeply mortified. Neither did the disbanding pass off quietly:

Seydlitz was appointed by the king to superintend that of the horse regiments; and, mutinous murmurs at their fate being raised by one of them, the general was on the point of firing upon the men with his own hand. Lieutenant-colonel Trümbach's battalion was broken up on the 3d of April; the privates were put into regiments of the line; all the officers, not excepting the commander, dismissed. To prevent disorders, Courbière's battalion, provided with ball-cartridge, occupied the gates.

The marquis d'Argens, who, like the other friends of the king, did not fail to advert to these proceedings, wrote to him from Berlin, March 5, 1763. "It is said that to-morrow the three battalions of Quintus Icilius will be here, that they are to be disbanded, and the men put into other regiments." The king replied, on the 10th: "It is against my will that I disband so many troops, but the situation in which I am placed by the peace does not permit me to keep more than 138,000 men, and merely with those who have been in the field, I should have 188,000. The total military force, including garrisons, amounted this year to 219,000 men. But they are all coming into the country, and we shall lose only a few deserters. I disband the natives and keep the foreigners."

The invalids who had served in the line fared much the same as the officers. Frederick who, like every great commander, was fond of his soldiers, provided for them as far as his resources permitted. Unfortunately, most states, especially after long and arduous wars, find themselves deficient in the means of making a suitable provision for their disabled defenders; such, too, was

the case in Prussia, after the seven years' war; so that, according to an official statement, in the year 1779, there were still 3443 invalids who had belonged to Frederick's army unprovided for.

Early in Frederick's reign, he founded an institution "for the crippled but unconquered soldier"—"Læso sed invicto Militi"—which was opened in 1748. It afforded accommodation for 600 privates and 13 officers, or, including women and children, about 1000 souls. This institution was especially designed as a retreat for the disabled foreigner, while the native invalid returned to his own home with a pension. An old colonel was the governor, and separate places of worship were provided for Protestants and Catholics. The original idea of the king was to give to each invalid a portion of the extensive lands belonging to the house; but it was not realized through the fault of the managers, and partly, indeed, of the old soldiers themselves.

In addition to this institution, the king gave 100,000 dollars to the poor-house of Kreutzburg, in Silesia, upon condition that a certain number of superior officers and privates should be decently maintained there. To some of the subalterns and soldiers petty civil appointments were assigned, and many of them were located in the reclaimed marshes of the Warthe, the Netz, and other districts. To each of these settlers was allotted from one to four acres of good garden and meadow land as his own absolute property, and the number thus provided for in the Electoral Mark alone amounted to 3000.

We find the king himself frequently acting the part of intercessor with the authorities in behalf of his old soldiers. Thus, when one of these, who had been sergeant-

major, and, after serving 38 years, had obtained some petty appointment in the orphan-house of Züllichau, was dismissed in 1776, for no fault of his, and complained on the subject to the king. Frederick demanded an explanation from the minister of the ecclesiastical department. His report represented that the debts of the institution rendered retrenchments necessary. The king wrote on the margin of it: "But you are turning off my invalids; that is not right." Another old sergeant-major, after trying a long time in vain to procure some situation, applied to the king himself for the place of salt-factor. Frederick referred the petition to Werder, the minister, in the following words, written with his own hand: "You will not, I hope, deny my invalids. You have been a soldier yourself; I am still one, and like to see my comrades provided for." In a cabinet order to the General Directory, dated the 31st of July, 1779, he says: "The invalids, whether natives or foreigners, deserve to be seriously attended to and provided for, as they have risked life and health for the country. These circumstances sufficiently attest Frederick's solicitude for the welfare of his old companions in arms; and had he not been so wedded to the notion of the absolute necessity of hoarding up a sum sufficient to meet any public emergency, he might no doubt have enjoyed the satisfaction of providing for them all.

This is the proper place for noticing a heavy charge preferred against the king by general Warnery, who for a year commanded a Prussian hussar regiment, and then quitted the army in discontent. In his "Campaigns of Frederick II." published at Vienna, in 1788, this officer asserts, at the conclusion of his account of the battle

of Torgau, that the greatest part of the wounded perished of cold, their usual fate in the Prussian army, the hospitals of which were so wretchedly managed, and filled with so pestilential an air, that the soldier who was carried thither looked upon himself as a dead man. "One need not be surprised," he continues, "at seeing so few cripples in the dominions of the king of Prussia after so cruel a war; for I know from good authority that the inspectors and the surgeons in the hospitals had orders to let all those die who were so wounded as to be incapacitated for service if they should recover; and this was done to save the cost of their maintenance."

It would almost seem that Warnery had not dared to publish this atrocious calumny against the great king in his lifetime. But, though he had descended to the tomb, champions, contemporaries, and actors in the scenes alluded to, came forward to vindicate his character against so foul an aspersion. The Hessian privy-councillor Baldinger, who had served as regimental surgeon during the seven years' war, published a refutation of general Warnery; and in the dedication to king Frederick William II., he calls his charge against the great Frederick "one of the most prodigious lies of our age." Theden, surgeon-general in chief of the Prussian army, bore this testimony: "I am now in the 52d year of my service, chiefly under the late king, and know that there is not a shadow of truth in the assertion of general Warnery. I know what large sums Frederick furnished with pleasure, that his sick and wounded might have good attendance." Tempelhof also, in his History of the Seven Years' War, confutes the general's slander in the most conclusive manner, and

protests that no physician or surgeon, no officer, no soldier, ever heard of such inhuman orders as Warnery attributes to the king; but that he (Tempelhof) knew, from good authority, that, "on account of the inconsiderate manner in which the French surgeons in the Prussian army treated the wounded, Frederick ordered that a German should always be present at their operations." The writer then enters into the following curious calculation: "Most cripples are produced by wounds inflicted by the artillery. Now, the greater number of those who are struck by cannon-balls are left dead on the spot, especially in battles, when their wounds cannot be dressed immediately. Out of ten wounded, who have lost an arm or a leg, scarcely one recovers. Assuming that, in every battle, the enemy fired 200 pieces of cannon and each piece 100 times, and, which is by far too much, that every tenth shot hit; in this case the artillery would have extended upon the ground 2000 men. Every tenth man of these recovers, but becomes a cripple; this gives for each battle 200 Prussian cripples. During this war, 13 grand battles were fought; but certainly not 2000 men fell in each of them by means of the artillery; in several, indeed, there were not so many killed in the whole. However, supposing this to have been the case, there would be 2600 cripples in the king's dominions on the conclusion of the war; but, as these would be dispersed over all the provinces of the kingdom, it would not be possible for Warnery to see many of them on his estate near Oels. Whoever will take the trouble to look for cripples in the Prussian dominions, will still find plenty of them after the lapse of 25 years."

Frederick inherited from his father a solicitude for the sick soldier; and as, while prince-royal, he was expected to visit the military hospitals, so after he became king he always paid particular attention to them. In 1744, when count Rothenburg was sent on a mission to the court of Versailles, the king directed him to engage twelve French surgeons for the Prussian forces. These were to serve only in the field, under the superintendence of the surgeon-general in chief, in the hospitals; in time of peace they were employed in training young surgeons. They arrived in Berlin in May, 1744.

In the field every tent had two frieze coverings for the prevention of disease. The clothing of the soldier was scanty; cloak he had none: every thing was on the cheapest possible scale; so that, especially when the campaign was prolonged into the winter, there were always numbers on the sick list. That they might not want for any thing which could conduce to their recovery, the king was accustomed to exhort the officers, the generals, and the princes themselves, to pay frequent visits to the military hospitals. After a battle he often attended to the wounded himself. The case of two ensigns, saved through his interference after the bloody battle of Kunersdorf, has been recorded in its proper place.

Retzow relates that, after the battle of Liegnitz in particular, Frederick paid especial attention to the wounded, no matter whether Prussians or Austrians. Tempelhof tells us that, the day after the battle of Torgau, the king gave orders upon the spot that the surgeons should divide the field among them, and bring

all indiscriminately, Austrians and Prussians, to the nearest villages to have their wounds dressed. The same testimony is borne by the Austrian veteran, Cogniazo, with reference to friends of his wounded in that very battle, and the care bestowed on them by the Prussian medical men; "and if," he proceeds, "this conduct was pursued toward enemies, even towards men with incurable wounds and cripples, how incredible must not the monstrous assertion of general Warnery, in his *Campagnes du Roi*, appear to every one!"

The king continued his exertions for the improvement of the medico-chirurgical department of his army down to the period of his last illness. Zimmermann, conversing with him on this subject, recommended Dr. Fritze of Halberstadt, who had served under Frederick's banners in the war of the Bavarian succession, and had discussed in print without reserve the defects of the Prussian military hospitals. He was invited to Potsdam, and at the beginning of August, 1786, appointed inspector of all the military hospitals in time of war. But the death of the king put a stop to the reform of the hospitals. Zimmermann, in his conversations with Frederick the Great, has recorded a very remarkable expression of the king's on this subject. "In all my wars," said the king, "my orders in regard to my sick and wounded soldiers were most negligently followed. Nothing ever vexed me more in all my life than to see that those brave fellows who so nobly sacrificed health and life for their country were not properly attended when ill and wounded. They have often been barbarously treated, and many a poor soldier has died from neglect. Nothing ever grieved me more than when I

was the innocent cause of the death of any man. But, since the last year, I have made such examples as will render it in future very difficult for all the rogues, thieves, and scoundrels in the army to cheat their king, and scandalously and barbarously to deprive the poor ailing soldier of the aid and refreshment which are so needful for him."

CHAPTER XL.

Financial Expedients resorted to during the War—Inadequacy of the old Revenue after the Peace—Establishment of the Regie for the collection of the Customs and Excise, in which the King employs Frenchmen only—His dissatisfaction with these foreigners towards the end of his life—Insurrection excited in Neufchatel by the introduction of the Regie—The Tobacco trade made a royal monopoly—Particular attention of the King to this branch of the revenue and to the cultivation of the plant—He takes the Coffee trade into his own hands—Paternal Sentiments of the King in regard to his system of taxation—Bank of Berlin—Salt Trade—Porcelain Manufactory—Provincial Credit System—Colonization and Cultivation of Wastes—Brenckenhof—Abortive attempts to emancipate Serfs—Establishment of Granaries—The Sale of "Noble Estates" prohibited.

We have seen that the war left all the belligerent powers, excepting Prussia deeply in debt: Frederick alone had no creditor to satisfy; nay, more—while all his adversaries were prostrated by exhaustion, he could expend large sums on magnificent buildings as if to show his enemies that, after the prodigious efforts which he had been obliged to make during the war, he still possessed resources against any new aggressions which they might meditate. Immediately after the conclusion of peace, prince Henry's palace in Berlin was finished, and the king commenced the erection of a splendid building, called the New Palace at Sans Souci, which was completed in 1770, at the expense of three million dollars. This edifice, remarkable for the richness of its architectural and sculptural embellishments, was nevertheless destined for little more than show, being used only on extraordinary occasions, when Frederick's habitual re-

sidence was too small to accommodate visiters of distinction. His principal object in erecting it was to furnish employment and to circulate money; and to this end both materials and workmanship were almost exclusively drawn from his own dominions.

And how were these wonders accomplished? By means of two hard expedients dictated by sheer necessity, and without which it is very doubtful whether Frederick could have maintained the arduous contest—debased coin and pay-tickets. To such a degree was the value of the current coin at last reduced that a ducat was worth nine dollars. Instead of their salaries, all the civil servants of the state received tickets payable after the peace. The hardships inflicted upon a very numerous class of the public servants by this measure may be conceived, when it is known that these tickets were not taken in the ordinary course of trade, and that at last, when discounted by the brokers, they were liable to a loss of four-fifths. Such as were able, through the assistance of friends or their own resources, to hold these tickets till the peace, were paid the amount in the base current coin; so that even in this case they must have sustained a loss of about two-thirds. What would English placemen say to such a war-measure as this? In the struggle for life and death, Frederick's attention was absorbed by one grand object—how to raise the 25 million dollars requisite for the ensuing campaign. To this sum his own dominions, or at least those provinces which were not in the hands of his enemies, contributed upon an average but four million; seven were squeezed out of Saxony; the English subsidy was converted into eight million; and the

exclusive privilege of coining, granted to the Jewish firm of Gumpertz, Isaak, and Itzig, produced seven million more.

No sooner was peace concluded than the king turned his serious attention to the metallic currency, which, aware of the incalculable mischiefs that must result from any sudden change, he gradually replaced on its old footing. He took upon himself the expenses of the new coinage; and he calls the war-standard forced upon him by necessity "a violent and melancholy expedient."

During the circulation of the base money, a great quantity of which consisted of pieces of six pfennings, the soldiers, the workmen, part of the salaries of the civil and military officers, were paid in this money, but it was not received at the royal treasury. One day, as Frederick was passing the door of a baker, he saw him disputing with a countryman. He inquired the reason, and was told that the baker insisted on paying the man for his corn in six-pfenning pieces, which the countryman refused to take. Frederick stepped up to the man. "Why will you not take the money?" he asked. The peasant, looking hard at the king, peevishly replied: "Wouldst thou take it thyself?" The king said no more, but passed on.

To such a degree had the country been drained by the war, that for years after the conclusion of peace, the circulation of money and industry were almost wholly at a stand, and even enlightened patriots deemed the wound incurable. Frederick was almost the only one who was not utterly discouraged by this state of things. From the very first days after his return from the army, he laboured unceasingly for the relief of his

country; and the munificent donations in money, corn, and cattle, which he bestowed on the unfortunate, saved many of his subjects from the brink of despair. The fields were again cultivated; towns and villages sprang up out of their ashes; a fresh impulse was given to manufactures; regularity and confidence returned to trade; and the arts of peace brought back by degrees integrity, order, and morality.

The old revenue was found inadequate to the many heavy demands made upon it. These were increased by unforeseen calamities: many towns were ravaged by destructive fires, and all of them in their distress looked up to the king for pecuniary aid. Frederick felt the necessity for increasing the revenue of the state by two million dollars, that he might be enabled to assist his country to recover itself, to maintain a respectable military force, and to collect funds to meet any emergency. His ministers were of opinion that the imposts ought to be diminished, not augmented. Dissatisfied with these advisers, the king began seriously to consider how he might accomplish his purpose. During the war, he had had more than one occasion to be displeased with the General Directory, to whose province belonged the administration of the excise, on account of its dilatoriness and inefficiency. He was convinced that this branch of the revenue was susceptible of considerable augmentation, and that in other countries, particularly in France, where the fiscal art had been carried to high perfection, it yielded a far greater profit to the crown. He therefore resolved to establish a distinct department for the management of the indirect taxes.

By the advice of General Krockow, one of his literary associates, who had been many years in the service of France, and frequently conversed with him on the institutions of that country, Frederick entered into correspondence with the well-known French philosopher, Helvetius. This writer had amassed a large property as farmer-general, with unblemished reputation. Persecuted in his own country on account of his book, *De l'Esprit*, he had sought refuge in England, and at the end of 1765 arrived in Berlin, where he resided till the June following. It was no doubt at his instigation that the king resolved to employ none but Frenchmen in the higher posts under the new system, the plan of which Helvetius assisted him in framing.

In April, 1766, Frederick, in a cabinet order, acquainted the General Directory with the intended change, and intimated that after the 1st of June the administration of the customs and excise would be withdrawn from that board and committed to *fermiers* from France. Accordingly, while the grossest mismanagement prevailed in the pecuniary affairs of that country, whole troops of financiers sallied forth from it, by post, on horses, on asses, and on foot, "*pour exploiter la Prusse*," as they told their friends on leaving Paris, under the designations, some of them droll enough, of *directeurs*, *inspecteurs*, *vérificateurs*, *controlleurs*, *visitateurs*, *commis plombeurs*, *controlleurs ambulants*, *jaugeurs*, *commis rats de cave*, and brigades of *anti-contrebandiers*, horse and foot. Such was the composition of what was commonly called the Regie, at the head of which were five regisseurs, with a yearly salary of 12,000 dollars, besides perquisites. The chief regis-

seur, so long as the system subsisted, that is till after the king's death, was de la Haye de Launay, who, on quitting the country, carried with him the sum of 400,000 dollars, honestly amassed by his situation.

Mirabeau states the number of French employed in the Prussian dominions to prescribe French laws to German subjects at 1500; Zimmermann swells it to 3000; but de Launay says that it never exceeded 200. Be this as it may, so much is certain, that the introduction of these foreigners gave rise to numberless complaints, and served to lessen the popularity of the great king among his subjects. Some even went so far as to prophesy the downfall of the State, which, however, became more and more flourishing in spite of the Regie. Still it may be doubted whether the pecuniary benefit resulting from this obnoxious measure was a sufficient compensation for the odium and obloquy incurred by it, when it is known, that the increase effected in the revenue amounted, according to Preuss, to no more upon an average than 857,000 dollars a-year—a paltry balance when placed in the scale against the innumerable annoyances and vexations which the people had to suffer from the foreigners, the encouragement to smuggling which undermined morality, and the wounded self-love of the Prussian nation. In fact, they were themselves great smugglers and peculators. Sir Andrew Mitchell observed with reference to them, "The French were beaten once in the field of Rossbach by the Prussians, but they are every day taking their revenge in the towns." The king lived long enough to become heartily tired of these financiers; and if his successor, on ascending the throne, lost no time in getting rid of them, he

merely executed an intention which Frederick had not only conceived but unreservedly expressed.

In 1783, the establishment of the excise was reduced, and the salaries of many of the officers were diminished. This arrangement drew a complaint from de Launay, to which the king replied: "One meets with honest men with a salary of 50 dollars, and great rogues with 1000 and more; so the sum is no guarantee against knavery, but only the honesty and morals of the person; but when rascallions are got together, and invested with the title of officers and employés, you cannot prevent them from thieving, unless by keeping a vigilant eye upon them, and severely punishing the guilty."

On the 1st of December, 1784, the king wrote as follows to Werder, the minister, respecting these officers: "I have received your report of yesterday concerning the complaints of the late inspector-general Pagan, against the general administration of excise, and have only to observe, that they are all a knavish crew, those French, whom one can discharge when one pleases; and if one were to do so, one would not be a loser by it. As for this Pagan, he may be dismissed forthwith; and I assure you that it is my intention to get rid of all the French by degrees."

Frederick appears, in fact, to have been thoroughly weaned, towards the close of his life, from any predilections, which, at an earlier period, he might have entertained for the French. We shall see presently how mean an opinion he had formed of them in a literary point of view.

It appears that persons belonging to the royal family itself were not exempt from the excise duties. The princess of Prussia, the first wife of Frederick's nephew

and successor, who was divorced from him, and confined at Stettin, had ordered a piece of very handsome stuff for a gown to be sent to her from Lyons. As a very high duty was payable on such stuffs, the custom-house officer insolently detained this gown-piece until the duty was discharged. The princess, indignant at this treatment, sent the man word to bring the gown, and she would pay the duty: but no sooner had he entered the apartment, than she seized the stuff, slapped his face violently, and drove him out of the room. Furious with rage, he drew up a long memorial to the king, in which he complained bitterly of having been dishonoured in the discharge of his duty. The king replied: "I must be the loser of the duty; the stuff must remain with the princess, and the cuffs with him who received them: as for the alleged dishonour, I relieve the complainant from that; the touch of a fair hand can never disgrace the cheek of a custom-house officer."

The introduction of the Regie into the principality of Neufchatel and Valengin had well nigh produced a rebellion of the inhabitants. The sovereignty of this principality, situated between France and Switzerland, had devolved in 1707 to the king of Prussia, as one of the heirs of the house of Orange. Though the acquisition entailed considerable expense, yet, as it served to show the powerful neighbour monarch the important moral influence of the court of Berlin, it was regarded by the latter with particular complacency. The finance ministers, however, dissatisfied with the small revenue derived from the principality, in comparison with other provinces of the kingdom, very soon began to form plans for raising the taxes. Under Frederick William I.

these led to no result. When in 1748 his successor farmed the taxes, instead of collecting them by his own officers, the inhabitants were virtually deprived of two material privileges, denominated in the country *l'Abri* —protection—by virtue of which, in the first place, the taxes might be paid either in money or in kind, according to a fixed rate; and, in the second, the poor holders of land could obtain, likewise at a fixed rate, such quantity of seed-corn as they had occasion for.

As the governors showed great indulgence in carrying the new system into effect, the people of Neufchatel made little opposition to it; but when, in 1766, on the introduction of the general finance reform, the obnoxious practice of farming was to be renewed, the inbitants claimed their privileges. The king preferred a complaint to the supreme council of the canton of Berne, the constitutional judge in this case, according to the principles of the Swiss confederation, of which Neufchatel was and still is a member; and sent baron Derschau and general Lentulus to Berne, to press the matter most urgently. Gaudot, advocate-general of Neufchatel, pleaded Frederick's cause with equal zeal and ability, and in January, 1768, the council decided in his favour. Neufchatel, however, would not submit to its decision; and Berne had 8000 infantry, a regiment of dragoons, and several rifle companies, with 50 pieces of cannon, in readiness to reduce the refractory. Lentulus, a native of Switzerland, who, on his visit to that country in the spring of 1767, had been appointed lieutenant-general of all the troops of the canton of Berne, was to conduct the expedition against Neufchatel. By way of precaution, the pass and the bridge

over the Zihl, which separates the territory of Neufchatel from that of Berne, were occupied by a detachment of grenadiers, belonging to the latter. The principality then deemed it advisable to submit to the award of Berne, but a new incident rendered hostilities more imminent than ever. On the 25th of April, 1768, the populace of the town of Neufchatel attacked Gaudot's house; neither the civil power nor the armed force was of any avail. Driven to extremity, the advocate and his nephews fired from the windows, and a carpenter was killed: the mob broke into the house and murdered Gaudot. The multitude cheered; not merely the dregs of the people, but even respectable persons, especially females, clapped their hands and shouted, "Long live the king! The bird is brought down!"

On cool consideration, the people of Neufchatel sent deputies to Berne to make excuses for what had happened. These were insulted by the populace, and sent back with no very gratifying prospect. Derschau applied to the cantons of Berne, Lucerne, Freiburg, and Solothurn for troops: each of them granted 1500 men to occupy Neufchatel till all disputes should be adjusted, and they entered the country without opposition on the 20th of May. The envoys of the four cantons assembled at Murten. Lentulus attended their deliberations on behalf of the king, and on the 27th of August made his solemn entry into the capital, as governor of Neufchatel. Due punishment having been awarded to the guilty by the cantons, Frederick generously restored to the repentant people the arms which they had been obliged to surrender, renounced the authority to farm the revenue, to administer it at pleasure, and

to displace public officers without reasonable cause; nay, he granted to the communes collectively the right of choosing a general council, without whose consent the prince should not make any alteration in the economy of the state. The ancient laws were amended for the benefit of the people, who were thenceforward most cordially attached to the sovereign.

In 1771 the king wrote to Voltaire, who had solicited for Osterwald the appointment of councillor of state in Neufchatel: "A man who has long instructed the world by his works may be considered as a teacher of the human race, and consequently be councillor to all the sovereigns of the earth, excepting those who have no power. In this latter predicament I find myself in Neufchatel, where I have just as much authority as the king of Sweden in his diets, or as Stanislaus over his Sarmatian anarchy. Were I to attempt to make any person councillor of state in Neufchatel without the approbation of the synod, I should run the risk of involving myself in a quarrel to no purpose. Jean Jacques was to have had protection from me in that country: he was driven out of it. I desired that one Petit-Pierre should not be persecuted, but I could effect nothing, and am therefore obliged to make the humiliating confession that I am powerless. I could not bring myself to have recourse in that country to the same means which the French court employs to make the parliaments in the kingdom obedient to its will. I hold sacred the conventions upon which the liberties and immunities of these people are founded, and I confine my power within the limits which they themselves fixed when they submitted to my house."

It was not only by the increase of the excise-duties that Frederick sought to augment his revenues; he reserved to himself the sale, or even the production of certain articles of consumption, which, from perpetual use, had become indispensable necessaries. Tobacco and coffee were the most important of these objects of royal monopoly.

The smoking of tobacco seems to have been introduced into Brandenburg by the 2000 English under the earl of Gray, who went in 1620 to Bohemia, to the assistance of the elector palatine, Frederic V. Snuff was brought into vogue by the Huguenot refugees. It was not long before tobacco was cultivated in the country. In 1738, Samuel Schock, from Basle, established a tobacco and snuff manufactory in Berlin. His goods were preferred, both at home and abroad, to those of the Dutch and Hamburgers; and they were exported to Germany, Poland, Denmark, and even England. He received a considerable compensation when the king, in 1765, made a monopoly of the tobacco trade.

This monopoly Roubaud, a merchant of Marseilles and Calzabigi, an Italian, offered to farm at the rate of a million dollars per year; but the contract was not completed, and they ceded the privilege, with the consent of the king, for 20,000 dollars, to ten traders of Berlin, who agreed to pay 1,100,000 dollars. A capital was to be raised by the sale of shares at 1000 dollars. The public, however, had not the necessary confidence in the undertaking; the shares were not disposed of, and the company could not find agents to retail the goods in the provincial towns, because these agents were required to give security, and to submit to other formalities. The

first payment it had to make threw the company into no small embarrassment; dissensions ensued among its members, and it was dissolved in July, 1766. The king then took the business into his own hands, together with a loss of more than half a million of dollars, by the name of the General Tobacco-administration. From that period the cultivation and fabrication of tobacco have flourished in the Prussian dominions.

The king always regarded this new creation with particular complacency, and, whenever he spoke of it, used the expression, "my work." He wished the administration to attend to the improvement of the native plant, so that it might equal canaster, procured seeds from Amersfoort, distributed them among the tobacco-growers, consulted Marggraf, the eminent chemist, and offered prizes. Many made experiments with seed from Virginia and Asia, especially Achard, in Berlin, the inventor of beet-root sugar, and Borowski, in Frankfurt on the Oder. A pension of 500 dollars was assigned to both professors. "It is impossible," says Rödenbeck, "that any private man can superintend a business, learned in his youth and followed for a livelihood, with more activity, skill, and regularity, or pay more attention to it, than Frederick devotes to this branch of the economy of the state, at the same time with his many other occupations." The pains which he bestowed upon it were not thrown away. It produced him, in 21 years, as many million dollars; and Preuss informs us that, in the last year of his life, the net produce exceeded 1,286,000. The same writer admits, however, that this system acted as an incentive to smuggling, which was almost openly carried on, and attended by its usual

evil consequences; and he adds significantly: "Frederick did not smoke, but he took snuff—Spanish snuff!"

The judges of excise, whose sole merit frequently consisted in writing a neat hand and the knowledge of arithmetic, sometimes passed the most absurd sentences. On one occasion, they condemned a soldier to pay a fine of 200 dollars for concealing a few pounds of tobacco. The sentence was transmitted, as usual, to the king, who wrote underneath it: "Before I confirm this sentence, I should like to know how a soldier, who has eight groschen [a shilling] to live upon for five days, is to pay a fine of 200 dollars."

Towards the end of Frederick's reign, a smuggler, pursued in the dusk of the evening in the streets of Berlin by a custom-house officer, and on the point of being taken, drew out a pistol, killed him on the spot, and made his escape. The king wrote to the administration, and, under the idea that the smuggler would take good care not to fall into the hands of justice, directed that, if retaken, he should be broken upon the wheel. The directors conceived that they were furthering the king's intentions by offering 200 dollars for the apprehension of the smuggler, and already exulted in the prospect of witnessing the execution of a Prussian for smuggling under Frederick, the philosopher. The man was apprehended; but the king, fearing lest his first letter, written merely to terrify other smugglers, should be acted upon, despatched a second to the administration, ordering them not to pass sentence without the most rigid examination of evidence, by which he gave them to understand that his pleasure was that the man should

not be condemned to die. He was afterwards confined at Spandau.

The use of coffee was of later date in Prussia than that of tobacco. Housewives were not acquainted with the art of preparing the beverage, and coffee-houses were in consequence established for the sale of it. In 1721, Frederick William I. gave to a foreigner the gratuitous use of a building which then stood empty, near the royal wash-house, for the first coffee-house, and a certain quantity of firewood annually. When this building was required to be pulled down, in order to make room for the new cathedral, the keeper of the coffee-house had a dwelling assigned him in the empty rooms of the Academy of Painters, from which Le Sueur, the director, requested the king to remove him in 1765. Coffee was not then known to the multitude; and among the middle class it was drunk only on extraordinary occasions. From this period it rose rapidly in the favour of the public. The king, who, as he told the deputies of the states of Pomerania, "had been brought up on beer-gruel," was desirous to keep the money in the country, to wean his subjects from unnecessary indulgences, and to encourage the use of native productions. He therefore took the coffee-trade into his own hands in 1767, and raised the duty. Smuggling increased in proportion, and to such a degree, that coffee could be bought in Berlin at a much lower price than it could have been afforded if the duty had been paid. Prussia was at this time paying a million dollars per annum for coffee to France, the produce of whose colonies was superior in quality to that of other nations.

Stricter measures were now adopted. In January,

1781, a new ordinance enacted that coffee should thenceforth be sold in the Prussian dominions at royal depots only, 21 in number. The people were divided into two classes: that of the privileged, including the nobility, clergy, members of the provincial colleges, and some others, might purchase the raw coffee; all others were obliged to take it ready roasted in tin cases. The tax-officers were authorised, for the discovery of frauds, the infallible consequences of heavy duties, to search houses, and they acquired no little skill in the detection of contraband. The French "coffee-smellers," as they were called, drew upon themselves the bitterest hatred of the people, and, so numerous were the punishments for smuggling, that the king found it necessary to make a considerable reduction in the duty. The net produce of the excise on coffee rapidly rose in consequence from 300,000 to 574,000 dollars per annum—a plain proof, but not comprehended till a later period, that the diminution of duties improves the revenue of the state as well as the morals of the people.

The testimony of de Launay, in his work on the financial system of Frederick, will show the paternal sentiments which animated the king in that as in every other branch of the administration.

"So far from wishing to increase the imposts upon the lower classes, the king often reduced them without saying a word to me, and thus exposed himself to the risk of a considerable decrease of his revenue. His savings had no other object than to enable him to relieve his poor subjects in cases of misfortune and in critical emergencies.

"His bounties were not merely pecuniary gifts: he

paid labourers, to whom he thus gave work and the means of subsistence; for, he was accustomed to say, by work people learn to earn money and to save money, and to make themselves more or less useful to the community. For this purpose he caused lands to be brought into cultivation, marshes drained, houses and other buildings erected, canals dug, public works undertaken, manufactures established; and thus proved that his only aim was the welfare and benefit of his people.

"When setting off for the army in 1778, he wrote to me as follows: 'I am taking a great number of men out of the country, and this will materially diminish the consumption. My subjects will not be able to earn much while I am away. Wink at the abuses that will creep in: when the war is over, we will set all to rights again.'

"The pressing duties of war and the turmoil of arms could not banish from his heart for a moment his solicitude for his people. He wrote to me from the army: 'I should like to know how things are going on; but no detail. Just say: well, middling, ill—I shall know what it means.'

"When the war was over, and the king had returned to Berlin, he sent for me on the very day of his arrival. I found him still covered with honourable dust, and already occupied with the welfare of his people. He asked Michaelis, the minister, why there were so many uncultivated tracts of land towards the frontiers of Saxony. Being told that these tracts belonged to poor gentlemen, or to communities which had not the means of bringing them into cultivation, the king replied: 'Why was not this mentioned to me before? You know

once for all that, when any thing in my dominions is beyond the ability of my subjects, it behoves me to take the expense upon myself, and they have nothing more to do but to reap the fruits of it. I herewith assign 300,000 dollars to bring those lands into tillage, and, if that sum is not sufficient, I will give more.' "

If, then, the king took with one hand, it was to give with the other; and it was with the same view that he introduced the Regie, and the various alterations which he made in other branches of the financial administration.

In the second volume of this work (chap. xxiv) we have seen with what solicitude the king exerted himself, before the seven years' war, for the promotion of commerce, agriculture, manufactures, and industry in his dominions. As soon as the return of peace permitted, his attention was again most earnestly directed to these sources of the prosperity of states; and he either continued to encourage institutions founded prior to the war, or established new ones. My limits confine me to a very brief notice of a few of these.

A bank established in Berlin by private individuals previously to the war had languished for want of capital. In 1765 this was transformed into a discount and loan bank, of which the king undertook the guarantee, and lent eight million dollars towards the original stock. Branch banks were erected in the principal provincial towns, and notes of from 4 to 1000 dollars were circulated. The benefits afforded by this institution soon secured for it extensive business. The profits, being regularly retained as stock, amounted to about 9,700,000 dollars in 1807, when the funds of the concern, though

not the property of the state, were seized by Napoleon. The bank, however, recommenced business on its former plan in 1809.

The first partition of Poland put Austria in possession of the productive salt-mines in that country, in which Frederick would fain have shared. He therefore erected, in 1772, a Maritime Commercial Company, with 2,400 shares, at 500 dollars each, of which the king took 2100 on account of the state. To this company he granted the exclusive privilege, for twenty years, of buying up and selling sea-salt in all the Prussian ports; and likewise all wax brought from within fifty miles of either bank of the Vistula. This privilege did not at first extend to the trade in salt, for which a separate company, called the Prussian Company, was founded; but the two companies were united in the sequel. The gross mismanagement of the directors, and, indeed, the misapplication of the funds by Görne, the minister, produced a deficit of more than a million and a half of dollars, which the king carried to his own account. The trade in salt became a monopoly belonging to the crown, and now produces nearly five million dollars per annum.

When, in November, 1760, Gotzkowski, the patriotic citizen of Berlin, whose services I have already had occasion to mention, went to Meissen to see the king, he found in his apartment several specimens of Saxon porcelain. Frederick showed them to Gotzkowski, and observed that if he had a wish, it was to see a porcelain manufactory in his dominions, and that, as soon as the war was over, he would found such an establishment if possible. Gotzkowski immediately fell to work to realize the king's wish, so that, in January, 1762, he could

take to him at Leipzig some specimens of the new Berlin manufacture, which then employed 150 hands. We have already seen that Frederick was so much pleased with this establishment, that he bought it two years afterwards for 225,000 dollars. In 1785 it employed 500 workmen, and up to the year 1808 had produced a clear profit of more than 1,300,000 dollars. When trade was released from its restrictions by the late king, this establishment of course lost its privilege.

After Frederick had purchased the porcelain manufactory, his usual presents consisted of splendid table services; before that time he gave snuff-boxes and rings, to furnish employment to the jewellers. When he went to Berlin, to the carnival, he always took with him a considerable number of these trinkets in two chests, which were carried by one of the dromedaries presented to him by general Czernitscheff.

While the ever active mind of the king was directed to objects of higher import, those of apparently trivial consequence were not neglected. Thus he expressly ordered small pocket looking-glasses, like those of Nürnberg, to be made, and a vent to be sought for them in Poland, by means of the fair of Frankfurt on the Oder. As the small images of saints offered a prospect of an extensive sale, he directed inquiry to be made which saints were the greatest favourites, and their images to be manufactured in the greatest number and at the cheapest rate. Having one day found a Leipzig dealer in wafers, mentioned in the list of arrivals, he immediately issued orders that those articles should be made in the country.

In Silesia, as in the other provinces of Prussia, the

nobility, at this time the only landed proprietors, had been so drained by the ravages of the war, that they were reduced to extreme distress for want of money. Unable to pay the interest of the sums borrowed, they had lost their credit, and their property was seized. The more estates there were for sale, the lower was the price offered for them. The whole class of nobles was brought to the brink of ruin, and agriculture and the public revenue suffered along with them. This state of things suggested the idea of an institution, the salutary effects of which surpassed the most sanguine expectations. Under the designation of Provincial Credit System, all the proprietors of estates in Silesia associated for the maintenance of their joint credit; and a bank was established at Breslau, which took up money for the purpose of advancing it upon the security of immoveable property to the amount of half its value. The lenders receive in exchange mortgage notes or bills, printed on parchment and stamped, of the amount of from 100 to 1000 dollars, which pass, like our bank-notes, as ready money. On these bills is expressed the name of the estate for which they are given; the holders have the preference before all other creditors, and receive 5 per cent. interest half-yearly, not from the owner of the mortgaged property, but from the provincial association, which is their debtor. To promote the beneficial object of this institution, the king advanced a capital, the interest of which was destined for pensions to the distressed widows and children of noble military officers. Similar institutions were founded in the Electoral and the New Mark, Pomerania, West and East Prussia, and the example was followed even in Poland and Wirtemberg.

It was in 1779 that the gentry of Pomerania, who had long wished to share the advantages of the credit system, sent a deputation to the king to solicit his consent and support for their plan. Frederick received them most graciously, and addressed them in a speech so expressive of his paternal solicitude for the general welfare of his subjects, and of his sentiments towards the Pomeranians and the nobles in particular, that I cannot refrain from quoting some passages.

"Come nearer, gentlemen," said the king, "I will speak to you as your best friend. You have applied to me for aid in the formation of a credit society. I will gladly assist you, for I love the Pomeranians as my brothers, and nobody can love them more dearly than I do, for they are excellent people, who have always supported me with fortune and life both in the field and at home, so that I should not be a man or have a human heart, if I were not to show my gratitude to you on this occasion..... The utility of this institution is not so apparent at first; but in two or three years it will not fail to display itself to your advantage and gratification. You shall not want for money. Just at this moment, indeed, I cannot advance many hundred thousand dollars, because all sorts of expences are occurring in time of war, and especially as the extensive mischief done by inundations has absorbed a great deal.....

"In Silesia, where the nobility were totally ruined by the war, I have assisted them to recover themselves by this institution, and since then in the Mark. At first I experienced much opposition, because many considered it as an obstacle which would prevent them from disposing of their estates at pleasure, and squandering

their property. But if any one has ready money, this institution will not be an impediment to his spending it just as he pleases. In regard to estates, one proprietor watches over another, and sees to it that he does not deteriorate or damage his property; and this is beneficial; for thereby the nobility are kept up, as I am most anxious that they should be, because they are absolutely indispensable to me for the army. All of them, to be sure, cannot neither do I wish them to enter the military service; some must stay at home to attend to the affairs of their family and relatives. Besides, I need the nobility to choose presidents and ministers from among them; I never care whether any one is rich or poor, if he has but merit. In this case, a poor man may become rich; for instance, Tauentzien, who had no patrimony whatever, and has acquired a property of at least 150,000 dollars. The late field-marshal Schwerin told me more than once that his father, when he sent him from his home in Breslau to seek his fortune, gave him a single dollar and a box on the ear, saying: 'Never take that of any body else:' and to what prosperity did he attain by the service! Many too have, by prudent management, amassed a considerable fortune, especially in Silesia. In many things, the Silesian method might be adopted with advantage in Pomerania, especially the improved systems in regard to sheep and cattle. I will cheerfully continue to furnish the country with money for improvements every year as long as I live. Whether I leave a million or two more or less in the treasury is of no consequence; it is better that I should do good with it in my life-time."

From almost every part of the German empire, from

Poland and other countries, the king brought colonists to people his provinces. Besides the many thousand soldiers who had been picked up abroad, and ultimately settled in the country, it is calculated that, from 1740 to 1786, 262 new villages and hamlets were founded in the Electoral Mark alone by the king on lands belonging to himself, to nobles, or to towns, for the reception of 11,618 families of foreigners; in the marshes of the Netz and Warthe in the New Mark, 2581 stranger families settled after the peace of Hubertsburg; in Pomerania, from 1740 to 1775, 2112 families; in Silesia, from 1763 to 1777, upwards of 30,000 colonists; in West Prussia, from 1774 to 1786, 1353 families; and in the other provinces several thousands — forming a total of about 250,000 agriculturists, artisans, and cottagers.

In these extensive plans for cultivating wastes and peopling the kingdom with foreign colonists, the king was zealously assisted by a very clever man. Brenckenhof, privy-councillor of finance, born in 1723 at Reideburg near Halle, had been in early youth page to prince Leopold of Dessau, who, finding that he possessed great talents, carefully cultivated them himself, and brought him up to be a devoted confidant. In the first Silesian war, Brenckenhof, in the uniform of page, performed the functions of aide-de-camp to his master, and proved himself as clever in the field as in the administration of the country. In 1745, Leopold promoted him at once to be his chief equerry; prince Maximilian appointed him director of the chamber, and after his death he was co-guardian of prince Francis, then a minor. Brenckenhof was concerned in Schimmelmann's contracts for

the supply of the Prussian army in the seven years' war, by which he made a considerable profit.

The king was led to notice Brenckenhof by his exemplary administration of the territories of Dessau. When Frederick, after the battle of Torgau, passed through that country, he was struck with the order prevailing in the villages: houses, stables, nay, even fences, were all in the best condition; whereas, in the surrounding countries, he had met with nothing but traces of devastation. He was told that this contrast was the work of Brenckenhof. Frederick sent for him. "How happens it," said he, "that in this principality every thing looks so flourishing, while every where else the effects of war are so apparent?"—"Your majesty," was the reply, "I have always kept up, for the benefit of the country, magazines of bread-corn, hay, straw, and fodder. If we are visited by hostile troops, I always address myself to the commanding general, and promise to furnish him with every necessary; and I beg that in return he will prevent all excesses, otherwise I shall be obliged to order the peasants to seize every marauder. Some of them have actually been secured. In this manner, I ward off ruin from the country." Frederick demanded provisions for three days, and was supplied, though there was notoriously a dearth of corn and horse-fodder. He noticed this man, and in 1762 induced him to enter his service.

The king sent for him to Breslau, where he then was, to give him instructions, and for the space of eighteen years Brenckenhof laboured assiduously at the improvements in Pomerania, the New Mark, and West Prussia, after the acquisition of that province. In these improve-

ments he did not scruple to draw upon his own resources; and, when he lay on his death-bed at Carzig in the New Mark, he was obliged to solicit the king's clemency, because the accounts of the funds placed at his disposal were in a state of inextricable confusion. Meissner, his biographer, significantly remarks: "What followed upon that letter, written on the day of his death, May 21st, 1780, belongs not to this book, which is to be confined to Brenckenhof's life." The king, though he had emphatically declared that he looked upon the birth of Brenckenhof as one of the most fortunate events of his reign, unrelentingly ordered all his property to be sold.

It was impossible that the state of the peasantry in his dominions, who as villains or serfs were still *adscripti glebæ*, bound to the soil, could escape the notice of so sharp-sighted and so humane a prince as Frederick. Several attempts to emancipate them from this thraldom prove how far reformers sometimes are from appreciating the wants and feelings of those to whom they conceive that they are offering a valuable boon. So far back as 1719, Frederick's father had issued an ordinance for abolishing servitude in the royal domains in Further Pomerania, and for giving to the serfs upon them the farms which they held in full property. How was this bounty received? why, it absolutely excited riots and disturbances. The like seed is sure to produce the like fruit. As the peasants whom the cross had emancipated, when they returned home from the crusades, went back into the service of their lords, lest they might not be able to support themselves, so those of the royal do-

mains in Further Pomerania mostly refused to accept their lands a free gift, on the ground that they should no longer be gratuitously supplied with timber for building and stock for their farms.

The great king had no better success. When at Colberg in May, 1763, he dictated to Brenckenhof 26 points, among which was this: that villanage and servitude, as well in the royal domains as in those of the nobles and the towns, should from that moment be utterly abolished; and that force should be employed, if necessary, in carrying into effect this fixed idea of his majesty for the benefit of the whole province. The states remonstrated, and proved by such cogent arguments that the execution of Frederick's paternal intentions would cause all the young men capable of bearing arms to quit the country, that he not only relinquished them, but imposed a fine of some hundred ducats for every farm that was not occupied as before by peasants.

An experiment made by Brenckenhof in the domain of Balster in the New Mark, was attended with a still more provoking result. In this case, the peasants were declared proprietors of their farms and stock. The first use they made of their liberty was to set off with every thing they possessed, and leave their abodes, because in that part of the country there was little demand for the products of the soil. Away they went, with live and dead stock, to more desirable situations near the Vistula and Oder, sold most of their cattle, and hired themselves as labourers to the peasants in the marshes of the Oder, where they received high wages. Servitude was re-established, otherwise the country would have been completely depopulated, and no further attempt

was made to force upon the peasants a freedom which they would not accept.

An ordinance for Pomerania, issued in December, 1764, will throw some light upon the state of the peasantry in the provinces of Prussia, and, indeed, all over Germany at that time. This ordinance decrees that every female belonging to an estate shall be at liberty to marry as she pleases, and that her lord shall have no right to throw in her way any obstacle or impediment. On the other hand, an ordinance of April, 1777, enacts that disbanded soldiers shall not only again become serfs to their former lords, but that their wives, widows, and children, born in a free condition, shall be subject to the same lot. O admirable consistency of the "age of philosophy!"

This relic of the feudal system continued in force till Frederick William III. realized the benevolent plans of his great predecessor, and in 1811 conferred on all peasants the full, free, and unlimited possession of the houses and lands held by them.

One of the most beneficent measures adopted by the king was the establishment of large granaries to secure his subjects from want of the prime necessary of life. Some of these were destined for the use of the army; others were provincial granaries, filled with purchases made when corn was at a low price, and not opened till it had risen considerably above the current rate. Here the people could obtain supplies for food and seed somewhat below the market-price; but arrangements were made for excluding traders and speculators from these advantages. When the magazines were open, the exportation of corn was of course prohibited. The benefits

of this provident system were particularly conspicuous in the years 1770 and 1771, during which, though a period of great dearth, the prices of corn were so moderate in Prussia, as not to be beyond the reach of the poorest persons.

The Regie produced in those years half a million dollars less than usual; but the king's well-filled granaries supplied corn for bread and sowing. "Luxury," says Birkenstock, "was kept aloof from the court, and famine from the provinces." In 1772 also the harvest was extremely scanty. Such was the dearth prevailing in Saxony and Bohemia, that oak-bark was ground and grass boiled for food. It has been asserted that in 1771 and 2, Saxony lost through this famine and its consequences, malignant diseases, 150,000 inhabitants; and yet in this very country so productive had been the harvest in the years immediately preceding; that in many places the crops were not got in, but left to rot on the ground. Upwards of 20,000 Saxon and as many Bohemian peasants emigrated to the Prussian dominions, and contributed with the settlers from the Palatinate, Wirtemberg, Mecklenburg, and Poland, to people the new districts brought into cultivation. These settlers were mostly husbandmen, and they, like the foreigners to whom the king's forefathers afforded an asylum, have by their industry added their quota to the general prosperity. In the Prussian dominions, agriculture was at this time in its cradle. Frederick hoped to stimulate it by advice, by example, and by encouragement. He distributed seed of clover, lucern, sainfoin, to improve the fodder for cattle; and in 1774 he allotted 100,000 dollars for experiments on the new modes of husbandry

recently introduced in England. In 1771, 40 gardeners were distributed in the Electoral Mark, to form nurseries of the most useful kinds of trees, and to plant the road-sides. It was not till the present generation that the full benefit of the paternal solicitude of the king for securing to the capital a constant supply of fruit and culinary vegetables, and for bringing into cultivation the sandy tracts which surrounded it, could be perceived and appreciated.

But little did Frederick imagine, while displaying the most earnest solicitude for the advancement of agriculture, that he was doing it an essential injury by his adherence to the feudal notions of the middle ages, which forbade the transfer of "noble estates," as they were called, to persons bred to trade or manufactures. Though the king winked at bargains of this kind during the war, "when," as he himself observed, "things cannot be enforced so strictly," yet, as soon as it was over, the former prohibition was renewed. To deter commoners from purchasing estates, he issued an ordinance depriving them of several of the privileges conferred on nobles by the possession of property of this kind, such as the right to a court of justice, to the patronage of the church, to assume the name of the estate, to sit in the provincial and circular assemblies, and to hunt or shoot. These restrictions extended even to such commoners to whose purchases the king had given his consent. Frederick went still farther: he strove to stimulate the nobles to recover by degrees such estates as were in the hands of commoners; "for commoners," he says in his order on this subject, "ought to occupy themselves with manufactures, commerce, and the like,

and invest their money in these, not possess noble estates." At length, in June, 1785, a cabinet order was issued, notifying that thenceforward no commoner should be allowed to buy noble estates, which must be and continue in the hands of nobles exclusively.

In 1787, Frederick William II. substantially confirmed these principles: but the force of circumstances was more powerful than legislative enactments. The nobles themselves considered it as a great favour when they were permitted, by way of exception, to sell estates to commoners; by and by, the king scarcely ever refused such permission, and the price of landed property rose in proportion with the number of the buyers.

CHAPTER XLI.

Department of Justice—Chancellors Cocceji, Jariges, and Baron Fürst—Carmer's plan of Reform—Solicitude of the King for the due administration of justice—His repugnance to capital punishment—A remarkable exception to his general sentiments on this point—Extraordinary case of Arnold, the miller—Token of respect paid to the King by the Emperor of Morocco—Frederick's jealousy of the functionaries of the law—Carmer appointed Chancellor, and employed to compile a new general code of laws—Intended adoption of the French system of Police—Reason of the King for abandoning it—He orders criminals to be conducted to execution without clergymen, and why—Treatment of Gipsies in Prussia.

In the department of justice, the king seems to have been for many years content with the first great reform, of which mention has been made in its proper place. We have also seen how highly he esteemed baron Cocceji, the high chancellor, through whom that reform was effected. With Jariges, his successor, Frederick was equally well satisfied. In 1763, he settled on him a pension of 1000 dollars, and gave him in the same year a prebend in the cathedral of Magdeburg. In 1766 the king sent for him to Sans Souci, to learn his opinion on a matter of importance. His majesty walked up and down the room during the conversation. Jariges, seeing an open snuff-box on the table, mechanically took a pinch, not unobserved by Frederick. After a while, he took up the box and spilt the snuff on the floor, as if by accident. On the following morning, the high chancellor returned to Berlin, and found in his room a valuable box full of Spanish snuff, and containing a note with these words: "As your excellency is known to like a pinch of good snuff, it is hoped that

you will make good use of this box, which comes from a good hand." Jariges now recollected his indiscretion. To get himself out of the scrape, he wrote thus to the king: "Notwithstanding the great surprise occasioned yesterday by the sight of a valuable snuff-box on my table, I soon felt convinced that it could not come from any one but your majesty, my most gracious master. It is impossible for me to express what my heart, which has for so many years been enthusiastically devoted to your majesty, felt on this occasion." Next day he received this answer: "I am touched by the gratitude which you express for the snuff-box which you conjecture to have come from me."

On the decease of the chancellor, in 1770, Frederick expressed high esteem for this excellent servant of the state in a letter to his eldest daughter, who was married to major Seel of the guard; and at a later period he thanked Moulines for having, in an Eloge on her father, presented posterity with a faithful picture of one who combined superior talents with tried integrity.

The new high chancellor, baron Fürst, was not so fortunate. Though universally respected as a most upright, honest, and active man, he was too much attached to the old routine to which he was accustomed to be either disposed or prepared to enter with spirit into the reforms desired by the king. Frequent complaints and the long duration of suits excited distrust in the mind of the monarch, and led to reiterated and severe expressions of displeasure. When, in 1772, a troublesome person repeatedly applied to the throne itself, Frederick demanded an immediate report on the case, and wrote with his own hand under the cabinet order: "I shall,

one of these days, examine into the administration of the gentlemen, for it seems to me that influence has much greater weight in the country than justice. I have spoken to the man—he is not mad. Whoever does not walk upright, I will rap his knuckles soundly." Being still harassed by the same complainant, he wrote in these terms to the provincial college of justice: "I shall come over next year; I shall speak to every body; and God have mercy upon those who do not act uprightly and honestly in matters of justice! *quod bene notandum.*"

If the authorities or the high chancellor proved their innocence, the king made them the most satisfactory apology, but still retained his prepossessions against the dispensers of justice. He was therefore much gratified when, in August, 1774, at the time of the reviews in Silesia, Carmer, minister of justice for that province, submitted to him the plan of a reform in his department. The partial introduction in Silesia of some of the provisions of this plan, which tended to expedite suits, had been productive of highly beneficial effects. Pleased with this result, Frederick, in 1775, intimated to his minister that he was desirous of seeing a similar procedure generally adopted, and charged him to digest a plan for that purpose, and to have it in readiness the next winter in Berlin. At the same time he informed the high chancellor, who had received repeated testimonies of the royal displeasure at the dilatory course of the law, that he intended to devote part of his time during his winter residence in Berlin to the necessary reform of justice, and that Carmer would be there too. The plan of the latter was meanwhile most carefully revised by Suarez, councillor of regency, so that he

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was able to deliver it betimes to the high chancellor to be communicated to the king.

Frederick was not then recovered from the effects of the protracted fit of gout with which he was seized in the autumn, and which confined them at Sans Souci; but, towards the end of the year, when he got better, he summoned the heads of the different branches of the administration to Potsdam. In the beginning of the following year it came to the turn of the department of justice. Carmer's plan for accelerating suits was discussed in the presence of the king, and such was the opposition made to it by the chancellor and Rebeur, president of the Kammergericht, that this reform was once more deferred. On the other hand, the Codex Fridericianus was confirmed: but at the same time a new ordinance was issued for the abridgment of suits, which enacted that all processes should be decided within a year, unless very particular circumstances stood in the way.

Notwithstanding the improvements made on this occasion, the king seems to have been no better satisfied with the administration of justice, for he adhered to his maxim that the courts needed sharp looking after; and he frequently interposed with harsh, threatening, and distrustful cabinet orders.

Shortly before the king's last journey to West Prussia, in June, 1784, baron Schrötter had been appointed chief president of regency in that province. On occasion of his visit, Frederick sent for him and thus addressed him: "I have made you president, and therefore it is fit that I should be well acquainted with you. I am by right the chief justitiary in my dominions; but I cannot do all

myself, and must therefore have such officers as you. I have upon me a heavy responsibility; for I must not only account for all the evil I do, but likewise for all the good that I leave undone. Such is your case too. You must judge with absolute impartiality, and without respect of persons — whether prince, noble, or peasant. This I expect of you, or we must part . . . . Have you estates?"—"No, your majesty."—"Do you intend to buy any?"—"I have no money for that purpose, your majesty."—"Good! then you know what poverty is, and you will be the more likely to feel for the distressed."

When, in the same year, the king had appointed baron von der Reck minister of justice, he thus wrote to him: "Now that I have chosen you to fill Münchausen's place, I feel confident that you will conduct yourself in this post in every respect as becomes an honest man, that you will act impartially in all matters, have nothing in view but justice, and be thoroughly incorruptible." The minister replied: "I will endeavour to perform the office entrusted to me with all the integrity of an honest man, and strive most zealously to deserve the highest confidence of your majesty. I abhor every kind of corruption as disgraceful, and never will I commit an act that would stain my conscience and justly render me unworthy of your majesty's favour."

We have seen the predecessor of the great king in the exercise of absolute sovereignty, not only reversing the decisions of his judges, when they differed from his own notions of justice, but inflicting on them personal castigation into the bargain. Such encroachments on the judicial office were incompatible with the principles professed by Frederick; and though we find examples

of them towards the end of his life, which will be noticed hereafter, still it is certain that, with those exceptions, he showed during the whole of his long reign no disposition to interfere with the course of justice even in his own behalf. The following is a remarkable instance of forbearance to add to those which the king exhibited while forming the gardens of Sans Souci, as related in a preceding volume.

The royal domain of Rüdersdorf borders on the estate of Tassdorf, which, in 1773, belonged to the widow of Marschall, privy councillor of state. The domain contains chalk-hills, which extend for some space into the adjoining property. In the above-mentioned year, the king commenced a suit against the owner of the Tassdorf estate, to prevent her from digging and selling chalk; and, during the proceedings, he ordered the keepers of the locks in his canal leading from the chalk-hills to the river Spree not to open them for any boats belonging to the lady carrying chalk. Madame Marschall addressed a complaint on this subject to the Kammergericht. That tribunal immediately issued a decision in her favour, by virtue of which the lock-keepers were ordered to open the locks for her craft. The keepers, however, fortified by the king's order, refused to obey the mandate of the court, which was obliged to send the armed force at its disposal to carry its decree into execution, in direct opposition to the royal instructions.

In 1780, the king thus wrote to d'Alembert: "Sovereigns were originally the judges of the state. It is only by the multiplicity of business that they are compelled to transfer this office to those to whom they commit the administration of justice. Still they ought by no means

to neglect this department of the legislation, or to allow their name and influence to be abused in order to commit injustice. It therefore behoves me to keep a vigilant eye over those who are invested with the administration of justice. An unjust judge is worse than a highwayman. To secure their property to all the citizens, and to make them as happy as the nature of man admits of, is the duty of every one who is the supreme head of a community; and this duty I strive assiduously to perform. To what purpose should I otherwise have read Plato and Aristotle, and studied the laws of Solon and Lycurgus? The practice of the precepts of the philosophers is true philosophy."

"You may believe me," said the king, in 1785, to the bishop of Ermeland, "that if I knew every thing, if I could read every thing myself and answer every thing, my subjects should be happy; but I am only a single individual."

With this declaration the king's mode of acting exactly coincided. Every one was permitted to approach the throne. The officers on duty at the gates had orders to ask all strangers if they had come to Berlin on private or on public business, and if they had any application to make to the king. If it was set down in the report that such or such persons had business with the king, and they were not seen at the palace, messengers on horseback were sent after them, sometimes for many miles, to bring them back.

So vigilantly did the king watch over that part of his high office, which he justly deemed the most important, and which under his inspection was always administered with sacred impartiality. With all his caution, however, he was not satisfied; for the frequent and often unfounded

complaints of low people excited suspicions of unfaithfulness, which disturbed the peace of the father of the country. Thus, in 1775, cogent reasons were submitted to him why a journeyman mechanic, who had killed his master's child with a hammer, should not be capitally punished, but sent for life to the house of correction. He wrote with his own hand under the memorial: "This is all stupid stuff. The fellow has killed a child: if he were a soldier, he would be executed without benefit of clergy: but, as the scoundrel is a civilian, he is to be made melancholy in order to save him. Fine justice, truly!"

If the king found the sentence in this case too lenient, it was owing entirely to the mistrust which, especially after Carmer's proposed reforms, he harboured against the administration of justice; for it was with reluctance that he assented to awards of capital punishment, and he almost invariably sought to mitigate them. Thus he wrote, in 1776, to Zedlitz, minister of justice: "I have scruples about executing the sentence of death passed upon Döpel, the incendiary. He and his accomplice Weiss are stated to be still young; it is therefore my will that their lives be spared, that both be sent to the house of correction, and that care be taken there for their better instruction in their duties as men, and in the abominable nature of the crime which they have committed."

Before he joined the army to commence the Bavarian succession war, he ordered all criminals who should be sentenced to death to be confined in fortresses till his return. In a letter to Voltaire, in 1777, he entered more fully into the expression of his sentiments on this subject. "I am acquainted," he says, "with the Carolina"—the

penal regulations promulgated by the emperor Charles V. —"I turned over these old law-books, when I found it necessary to give better laws to the inhabitants of the coasts of the Baltic. These were, as it is customary to say of Draco's, written with blood. In proportion as nations become more civilized, the severity of their laws must be mitigated. This we have done, and have found the good effects of it. In accordance with the opinions of the wisest legislators, I conceived that it was better to prevent crimes than to punish them. My efforts have succeeded. To give you a clear conception on this subject, I must make you acquainted with our population. This amounts to 5,200,000 souls. If France has 20 million inhabitants, our number is about one-fourth. Since our laws have been mitigated, there have been, upon an average, only 14 or at most 15 executions annually. This I can state with the greater confidence, since no culprit can be executed till I have confirmed the sentence, nor can any one be condemned to confinement in a fortress without my signature. Most of the delinquents are females who have murdered their infants. There are very few other murders, and highway-robbery is still more rare!" To Zedlitz the king once expressed his great joy that "fewer executions were found necessary in the Prussian dominions than in any other country of Europe."

But though Frederick had anticipated the law of England in the application of the benevolent principle—Better twenty guilty persons should escape than one innocent man suffer—still his very love of justice sometimes betrayed him into injustice. A remarkable instance of this kind is furnished in the following case, which occurred during his last illness.

A youth of nineteen, son of a farmer named Hevenbrock, having quarrelled with Merten, another farmer, the parties came to blows, and the latter was so severely handled that he died the same night. There was no evidence to prove that young Hevenbrock had wilfully killed his adversary, neither were the wounds found on examination to be of such a nature as necessarily to produce death. The report of the surgeons, on the contrary, left it uncertain whether the man's death was not attributable to an effusion of blood into the thorax, the cause of which could not be ascertained. The criminal deputation of the Kammergericht, therefore, adjudged the young man to three years' confinement in a fortress. By a cabinet-order of the 10th of December, 1785, the king changed this sentence, and directed that the prisoner should be beheaded. Though the minister of justice, baron von der Reck, stated in a memorial his reasons against capital punishment, the king replied: "I adhere to those divine and universal human laws according to which a murderer must die."

The king's illness soon afterwards increased, and the criminal senate of the Kammergericht delayed passing the second sentence till his death, and then decided upon confinement in a house of correction instead of a fortress, that there might be no need to lay it before the king for confirmation; and to obviate any similar infringement of justice. At the prisoner's desire, the case was transferred to the supreme chamber of appeal, which finally pronounced sentence of three years' hard labour in a fortress, and the new king confirmed it in September, 1786.

A case which excited the strongest sensation, not only

in Prussia but throughout the whole civilized world, was that of Arnold, the miller; in which the king, taking a common-sense view of the matter, unbiassed by the quirks and quibbles of lawyers, and exercising the authority of chief-justiciary of his kingdom, which he had reserved to himself, not only reversed the sentence of the judges, but punished them severely for what he considered as a most iniquitous decision. Frederick's interference in behalf of the poor miller, though it extorted the admiration of his contemporaries in foreign countries, has since been very generally censured by the lawyers of Prussia as an arbitrary stretch of power; but, a few years since, M. Sietze undertook to vindicate the honour of the great king in reference to this matter, and has proved that no encroachment on the administration of justice was committed, neither could it have been intended.

"By the laws then subsisting," says the writer, "the king had reserved to himself the functions of supreme judge over all the courts of justice, so that he had retained authority not only to call to account judges who were accused of injustice, but to inflict on them punishments proportionate to circumstances. No difference was to be made whether acts of injustice originated in corruption or animosity; but, in case they proceeded from ignorance, they were to be punished with dismission from office, and reimbursement of the costs of suit. It was, moreover, a principle of the constitution that the proceedings in the inferior courts should be conducted *ex officio* by the judge, and that the parties should be duly instructed what they had to prove, in order to obtain their right. It is by overlooking these

two main points that people have erroneously concluded that Frederick punished the judges, because they had not pronounced a proper decision in the suit commenced in consequence of his order to indemnify the miller, after the latter had complained. The truth, however, is that the king punished the judges because they had not done any thing to amend the fault which they had committed in the preceding suit, and which they were expressly charged by the sovereign to correct. Led astray by this false conclusion, the attention of almost all the reporters of this case has been diverted from the first suit, and the question wholly evaded, whether the tribunals had not an essential interest, for the purpose of concealing the faults of the first suit, in instituting a second, which was neither necessary nor intended by the king."

In 1762, Arnold, by agreement with his father, came into possession of a water corn-mill at Pommerzig, in the circle of Crossen, held on a long lease of count Schmettau of Pommerzig, to whom he had to pay a yearly quit-rent in corn. In 1770, the count's neighbour, provincial-councillor Gersdorf, of Kay, made a fish-pond on his own land, and diverted into it part of the water from the mill-stream above the mill. Arnold now refused to pay the stipulated quit-rent, on the ground that, since the pond in question was made, he had not sufficient water to carry on his business. An arrear of several years was due, when the count lodged a complaint with the patrimonial judge Schlecker; while the miller, on his part, instituted proceedings against the count, in the court of regency at Cüstrin, to recover from him, as he had granted permission for making the pond, damages for the injury which he

(the miller) had sustained, and to compel him to take measures for abating the nuisance. Judgment was given against Arnold in both suits. No attention was paid to his plea of want of water, neither was any inquiry made whether his neighbour had really turned off part of the water from the mill or not. The judges merely stated, as the motive of their decision, that the ground-landlord was not to blame for the divarication of the water; and that Arnold was proprietor of his mill, though in fact he only held a long lease of it. The proceedings, therefore, were in every point of view defective. The miller's goods were seized, and the mill was ordered to be sold to the highest bidder. Gersdorf employed a land-surveyor to buy it; the latter, in a few weeks, made it over to the former, who soon afterwards disposed of it with a profit of 200 dollars.

Arnold complained of these proceedings to the regency of the New Mark. That tribunal approved the course pursued by Schlecker, refused to entertain the allegations of the miller, and intimated that, as the case had been legally decided, nothing further could be done in it: but none of the members cared to recollect that, as a last expedient, a demand of nullity might be preferred. In this extremity, Arnold's wife had recourse to the king himself, soliciting a military commission against Gersdorf. In May, 1779, the king referred the petition to the department of justice; and Münchausen, the minister, after obtaining a report on the subject from the regency of Cüstrin, exhorted the petitioner to give no further trouble. The application of the Arnolds to the chancellor produced a similar result.

Again Arnold addressed himself to the king, and again

he was admonished by the department of justice to be quiet; but his perseverance at length drew the attention of Frederick to his case, and a statement of his complaint against Gersdorf was drawn up at Potsdam, on the 21st of August. This statement was despatched on the following day to the regency of Cüstrin, with a cabinet order, directing it to appoint one of its members to investigate the complaints of the miller jointly with colonel Heucking, whom the king had commissioned for the purpose. In the time of Frederick William I. it was common enough to employ staff-officers and generals in judicial, financial, and other civil inquiries; and under Frederick II. the practice was not unusual, because the Prussian monarchs placed great confidence in the practical and unbiassed views, and in the sense of honour of their military officers, even in things unconnected with their profession. The civil commissioner selected on this occasion was Neumann, councillor of the regency; probably the same member of the college to whom the management of this affair had in the first instance been committed.

Sietze shows that the colonel executed the commission like a man of honour, and drew up his report after personal investigations made on the spot. According to this report, the pond was injurious to the mill. The king, thereupon, charged his law-officers to let prompt justice be done to Arnold, that his grievances might be entirely redressed, and full compensation made him. Meanwhile, the regency presented their report to the king, making no mention of the military commissioner, but alleging, in the usual supercilious way, that the mill was going and had water enough. They received

in consequence the following cabinet order:—"His majesty hereby signifies to the regency of the New Mark his extreme displeasure, and at the same time that they are not worth a single charge of powder. Had they managed the matter better, and inquired into it more closely and in a spirit of justice and equity, his majesty would not have had occasion to send other persons to the spot. The proceedings in this affair have been contrary to common sense, for, if the water is taken from the miller for a fish-pond, of course he cannot pay his rent and taxes, but has a right, on the other hand, to compensation. Instead of that, Arnold has been treated in a most cruel and unjust manner, and he and his wife have not only been beaten and thrown into prison, but every thing they had has been taken from them. This is not to be justified. His majesty will drive them all [the members of the regency] to the devil, and appoint others in their place, for they are not worth their bread. For the present, the regency is most expressly commanded to settle the matter immediately with Arnold, to make him entire compensation forthwith, and to repair all his wrongs without exception, and with this order it is enjoined most strictly to comply."

Again, Neumann was commissioned to investigate Arnold's grievances on the spot, but especially to ascertain whether the water was really taken away from the mill or not. One may easily conceive in what spirit Neumann made this inquiry; for, if the results proved favourable to the miller, he must necessarily charge himself with the grossest negligence. To make it appear that Arnold had professional assistance, an advo-

cate of paupers, the scurviest pettifogger that could be found, was engaged. Gersdorf was considered as the only defendant. As a person practically acquainted with the subject, Neumann called in Schade, inspector of ponds, who also gave it as his opinion that the pond must take away the water from the miller, at least in the dry season. Eight witnesses bore testimony to the same effect in favour of Arnold; Gersdorf, on the other hand, produced five, some of whom, indeed, were interested in the matter, to contradict them.

Neumann's opinion, of course, influenced the decision now framed by the regency of Cüstrin. Arnold's claims upon Gersdorf were rejected, and the sum of 44 dollars was awarded to him on account of corn taken from him at the sale of the mill. A report was forwarded to the department of justice, alleging, among other things, that colonel Heuking had not investigated the matter with sufficient care.

Arnold appealed, and once more had recourse to the king, who sent orders to the Kammergericht to bring the affair to a close, and to report the issue to him immediately. Ransleben, president of the council of the Kammergericht, was appointed to draw up this report, which confirmed the first report, with the addition of the award for corn taken from Arnold when the mill was sold. The king was laconically told that the affair was dismissed, and the decision sent to Cüstrin for publication. A copy of the decision was not even annexed. When his majesty applied in writing to the president for a copy, and the grounds on which the decision was founded, the latter is said to have coolly replied: "We have come to this decision; that must be sufficient, for

the Codex Fridericianus tells us, that the judges are not bound to attend to cabinet orders."

Throughout the whole of this affair, the king had displayed a patience, not unmixed, it is true, with firmness, that for him was astonishing. The arrogance of the Kammergericht now produced an explosion. On the morning of the 11th of December, he ordered the high chancellor, and the three councillors, who had drawn up the decision in Arnold's cause, to come to him at the palace about two o'clock. They found the king reclining on a couch, apparently suffering great pain from the gout. On their entrance, he inquired if they were the councillors who had drawn up the sentence in Arnold's cause; and when they replied in the affirmative, he put to them these questions:

"Is it just to pronounce sentence against a peasant who has been deprived of his plough and all he had?"

"No;" replied the councillors.

"Is it just to take his mill from a miller, who has been deprived of water for grinding, because he cannot pay his rent?"

"No."

He then commenced that remarkable address, which is given in the protocol, written on the spot, which was signed by himself, and which appeared three days afterwards in the Berlin newspaper, in these terms:

"Here now is a nobleman who thinks fit to make a pond; and, to fill it, he cuts a channel to lead the water from a little stream which drives the mill to his pond. The miller thereby loses the water, and cannot grind. The utmost that he can do is to grind a fortnight in spring, and a fortnight about the end of autumn. And

yet it is alleged, that the miller ought to pay the rent the same as before, though his business is ruined: and how does Cüstrin justice act? She orders the mill to be sold, that the nobleman may get his rent; and the Kammergericht here approves such conduct! It is most unjust and totally adverse to his majesty's paternal intentions. He wishes, on the contrary, that prompt justice should be administered to every one, high and low, rich and poor, and that impartial right should be done to each of his subjects, without respect of person or condition.

"His majesty is therefore determined to make a signal example in regard to the most unjust sentence pronounced against Arnold, the miller, and approved here, that all the colleges of justice in his kingdom may take warning, and not commit the like gross injustices. For they must be taught, that the meanest peasant, nay, even the beggar, is a man as well as his majesty, and that strict justice ought to be done him. In the eyes of justice, all persons are equal, whether it is a prince who makes a complaint against a peasant, or *vice versâ*; in such cases, right alone ought to be regarded, without respect of person. Let the colleges of justice in all the provinces take this for the only rule of their conduct, and those which do not deal impartial justice, without regard to person or condition, but set aside natural equity, will have to do with his majesty; for a college of justice which practises injustice is worse and more dangerous than a band of robbers, against which one may defend one's-self; but against scoundrels who use the cloak of justice to gratify their bad passions, there is no defence. They are worse than the

greatest rogues in the world, and deserve double punishment."

During this interview, the king held in one hand the decision of the Kammergericht, drawn up, according to the practice of the time, in his name; and whenever that caught his eye, he would strike the paper with the back of his other hand, and exclaim, in vehement indignation, "My name cruelly abused!" His address, as given above, was taken down in writing by Stellter, one of his cabinet secretaries. When he said that the tribunal here [in Berlin] had confirmed the sentence of the New Mark, the chancellor, by way of setting him right, said: "The Kammergericht," on which the king dictated "the tribunal of the Kammergericht," but, at the same time, ordered him, in very harsh terms, to withdraw, telling him that his place was supplied. Without uttering a word, the chancellor precipitately retired. His majesty afterwards poured forth a torrent of the bitterest invective against the three councillors, and at length dismissed them, without intimating his intentions in regard to them. They had scarcely quitted the room, when he followed, and bade them wait. Lieutenant Zastrow, aide-de-camp of the governor of Berlin, soon afterwards entered to take them in a carriage to the common gaol of the city, where, guarded by two subalterns and two privates, they remained till their departure for Spandau, on the 5th of January, 1780.

The first four councillors of the regency of the New Mark, together with the fiscal, who had participated in this injustice, were likewise imprisoned. Count Finkenstein, the president, a son of the cabinet-minister's, was dismissed. The minister of justice was ordered to pro-

ceed with the utmost rigour of the law against all the persons implicated, and to adjudge nothing short of dismissal from their offices and confinement in a fortress, that an example might be made. The councillors and the fiscal were to indemnify the miller for all the damage that he had sustained; the latter was to be immediately reinstated, and Gersdorf was to be required either to build him a windmill, that he might be enabled to carry on his business as before, or to leave him the whole of the water. The minister was further ordered to make known the whole affair, by way of warning to all the tribunals in the kingdom, with the threat that, if these directions were not strictly obeyed, the minister, as well as the criminal college, would "have to do with his majesty."

In a few days, the criminal college, or the first senate of the Kammergericht, met to investigate the conduct of the members of that tribunal and of the councillors of the regency of the New Mark, on whose punishment the king had insisted. It was the unanimous opinion of the senate that none of the parties implicated was chargeable either with any intentional violation of duty, or any fault arising from negligence; that they ought therefore to be dispensed from all further inquiry and responsibility, and released from confinement. This opinion was transmitted by baron Zedlitz, the minister of justice, to the king on the 31st of December, with the following remarkable intimation: "I have ever regarded your majesty's favour as the greatest happiness of my life, and most zealously endeavoured to deserve it; but I should consider myself unworthy of it, if I could do an action contrary to my conscience. For the reasons

assigned by myself and the criminal senate, your majesty will be pleased to conclude that I am not able to pronounce a condemnatory opinion against the judicial officers apprehended on account of Arnold's cause."

On the following day, January 1st, 1780, was issued the decisive cabinet order addressed to this minister: "My dear minister of state, baron Zedlitz, I am much surprised to see, from your letter of yesterday, that you refuse to pronounce sentence upon the officers of justice apprehended on account of Arnold's cause, agreeably to my order. As then you will not speak, I will, and pass sentence as follows." After ordering the release of Ransleben, councillor of the Kammergericht, and Scheibler, councillor of the regency of the New Mark, because they had shown impartiality in their opinions, this remarkable document dismisses the other prisoners, Busch, Neumann, Bandel, Friedel, and Graun, councillors of the regency of the New Mark or of the Kammergericht, and Schluker, justitiary of Pommerzig, from their offices, and condemns them to a year's imprisonment in a fortress. They are, moreover, required to pay out of their own pockets the value of the mill, and all loss and damage sustained by Arnold, that he may be reinstated *in integrum*. The king concludes with this remark: "For the rest I will just tell you how glad I am that I have learned to know you on this occasion, and I shall see presently what I am to do further with you." Underneath the opinion of the criminal college, he had written with his own hand: "Fiddle-faddle of the gentlemen's—nothing else."

Agreeably to this decision, the prisoners were sent off on the 7th of January to Spandau; and, after full and satisfactory compensation had been made to the miller

to the amount of 984 dollars, besides the restitution of his mill, they were released on the 5th of September.

In Berlin the sense of the public was unequivocally expressed against the arbitrary decision of the sovereign. The general sympathy felt for the undeserved fate of the chancellor, baron Fürst, who had no influence over the framing of a sentence in civil matters, was shown the day after his dismissal from office, when all the persons of note in Berlin thronged to his house to express their condolence in such numbers that his apartments could not contain them. Considerable sums were contributed, some of them by anonymous donors, for the benefit of the councillors so suddenly turned out of their places. Several persons holding judicial appointments resigned them, for fear the like unmerited punishment might overtake them also; and many young men were deterred from devoting themselves to the profession of the law. But among the people in general, both at home and abroad, this event could not fail to awaken the highest degree of enthusiasm in behalf of the Prussian monarch. The empress Catherine sent the protocol of the 11th of December to the Russian senate, as an extraordinary evidence of royal solicitude for the impartial administration of justice. In Paris, Vangelisti, the engraver, produced a plate in commemoration of it; and, in Lisbon, Nettelbeck felt proud of being a Prussian, when he saw the people thronging enthusiastically to an exhibition of wax figures, containing a representation of the judgment of the northern Solomon.

For the sake of completing the narrative of this extraordinary case, I may here mention that, no sooner had Frederick expired, than the councillors who had been

dismissed on account of it solicited a revision of the proceedings relating to themselves. This was granted by the new king, and, on the strength of the opinion expressed at the time by the criminal senate of the Kammergericht, they were declared innocent. His majesty offered to take them again into his service when any suitable appointment offered, and, had he not reimbursed the amount of the compensation paid to Arnold out of the funds of the state, the miller would probably have found himself again in a destitute condition.

Frederick's fame, heightened by his conduct in the case of the miller, was not confined within the pale of the civilized world, as a circumstance which happened soon afterwards served to demonstrate. In 1780, Captain Klock, a native of Amsterdam, who had acquired the right of citizen of Emden, sailed from that port for the Canary islands, but lost his vessel in a storm on the coast of Morocco. He and his crew were made slaves, and carried to Mogador. Here he learned with surprise how highly the name of the Prussian monarch was respected by the semi-barbarians of that country. No sooner did the emperor Mulei Sidi Mohammed—who is described as having ruled less despotically than his bloodthirsty predecessors, and been eager after knowledge—learn that the captives were under the flag of the great king of Prussia, than he sent for them to Morocco, made many inquiries concerning Frederick, and said: "Such wonderful things have reached my ears concerning your sovereign, that they have filled me with love and admiration for him. The world cannot boast of a greater man than he is: I have shut him up in my heart as a friend and brother. It is my will, therefore, that you

who belong to him shall not be considered as captives in my dominions. On the contrary, I have resolved to send you back, free of expense, to your own country, and I have ordered my cruisers to protect the flag of Prussian ships wherever they can." Klock and his crew were entertained, new-clothed, and conveyed without expense to Lisbon. This intelligence was highly gratifying to Frederick, who caused it to be published in the Berlin papers.

Arnold's case served to fortify Frederick's prejudices against the functionaries of the law, so that even persons of the most approved integrity were not safe from the most painful rebukes. There were not wanting those, however, who, strong in the consciousness of their worth, had the courage to place things in their proper light. Thus, in November, 1780, Münchausen, the minister, wrote to the king as follows: "What your majesty wishes particularly to impress upon me in the order of yesterday's date, that in your eyes a poor peasant is as good as the proudest count and the richest gentleman, and that justice is for the low as well as the high, I have known all my life; and I assert that, during the whole time I have had the honour to serve your majesty, I have never afforded room for suspicion that I did not know it. That I have warned petitioners against the punishment of frivolously petitioning is true enough; such warning is, according to my ideas, a real benefit to people of that kind, who are lost to every useful occupation so long as they continue petitioning, since it is not possible to help them to what they want; and I have endeavoured to render them service by dissuading from obstinate perseverance in useless applications. If it were

really possible for me, in the administration of justice, to make a difference between rich and poor, high and low, the source of it must lie too deep for it to be remedied by a mere reproof. I most humbly beseech your majesty to be pleased to inform me how I have brought upon myself so ungracious an accusation."

Like the storms of Nature, the tempest of royal indignation raised by Arnold's case, though fatal to individuals, proved a permanent benefit to the countries under Frederick's sway. Carmer, the new chancellor, had already proved himself, as minister of justice in Silesia, to be a man not so wedded to the old routine as to be adverse to improvements, either in the laws themselves, or the forms in which they were administered. He was, moreover, distinguished for activity, firmness, superior abilities, and a high sense of justice. Him the king made the instrument for giving to his subjects a new general book of laws, and, though he himself did not live to see the completion of that great work, still Prussia is indebted to Frederick for the plan and the commencement of it, as well as for the selection of an instrument so competent to carry it into execution.

In his essay on Manners and Customs, Frederick tells us that, after the enlargement of Berlin, in 1734, a new police, upon nearly the same footing as the Parisian, was introduced there. Inspectors were appointed for the different quarters of the city, and at the same time the use of hackney-coaches was adopted. This system was acted upon during Frederick's reign, till the death of Kircheisen, president of police, in 1770, when he appointed Philippi his successor, and sent him in the following year to Paris, to learn the means by which the

police of that city had acquired its extraordinary celebrity. Though the detestable system of espionnage was not then so completely organized in France as it has since been, yet extraordinary things were related of the police of Paris, and especially of the vigilance and sagacity of Sartine, who was at its head. He had the reputation of knowing, through his emissaries, the haunts and machinations of rogues and criminals, even in distant countries. On the return of Philippi, Frederick appointed him president of police in Berlin, and honoured him with his confidence. As, however, in the course of a few years, numerous crimes were committed and the public safety was endangered, because the perpetrators eluded detection, the king expressed his dissatisfaction with the president, and reproached him for not profiting better by the knowledge which he had gained in Paris.

Philippi made a report to the king, in which he showed that, in order to attain the same results as M. de Sartine, it would be necessary to organize a secret police and a system of espionnage, and he proposed the means of accomplishing these objects, in case the king should be pleased to resort to them. Frederick answered him in these memorable words:—"Anxious as I am for the maintenance of the public security, the discovery of every crime committed, and the prevention of every one contemplated, still I consider the means by which alone these objects can be attained as far more mischievous than all the evils which they would be intended to remedy. I will not disturb the quiet and the confidence of my good subjects, nor suffer the morals of my people to be corrupted."

If Frederick wished capital punishment to be inflicted without unnecessary torture, he was equally solicitous that its effects should not be weakened. He could not overlook the mischief likely to result from the officious zeal of certain clergymen for the conversion of criminals under sentence of death; from the self-complacent commendations of the process by which men who all their lives had been steeped, body and soul, in crime were suddenly transformed, as it was blazoned abroad, under the operation of divine grace, into patterns of piety and heirs of assured salvation; and from the practice of accompanying malefactors, as it were in triumphal procession, to the place of execution. The baneful effects of such exhibitions on the imagination of unenlightened persons must be self-evident. The king, therefore, ordered that criminals should be conducted to execution unattended by clergymen and without the singing of hymns. The wisdom of this innovation, which at first incurred severe censure, and was ascribed to the irreligious spirit of the king, was in the sequel universally acknowledged and imitated by reflecting legislators.

Against those extraordinary vagrants, gipsies, very severe edicts were issued in the early part of the last century. In 1710, Frederick I. ordered all gipsies, male and female, young and old, to be hanged. In 1726, Frederick William I. issued an ordinance commanding that all gipsies above the age of sixteen should be hanged, and their children sent to the houses of correction. Frederick mitigated the severity of his predecessors, and enjoined that these people should be transported beyond the frontiers, but this mode of proceeding could not keep them out of his dominions. Preuss in-

forms us that an experiment has been made of late years to establish a colony of them amounting to about 90 persons in permanent habitations at Friedrichslohra, near Nordhausen, in Prussian Saxony, and that a shoemaker and his wife, assisted by charitable donations, went in 1830 to live among them, for the purpose of gaining over these native heathen to christianity and social industry. Sincerely do I wish that I could communicate to the reader the result of an experiment so interesting to the philanthropist.

CHAPTER XLII.

Frederick unjustly branded as an Atheist—Evidences of his belief in God—Reputed to have imbibed irreligious opinions from the French Philosophers—Their attacks aimed not at religion but superstition—Sentiments of the King in regard to the immortality of the soul—His vindication of Christianity against Holbach—His steady protection of Protestantism—His prejudices against the Clergy in general—His detestation of religious frauds—His principle of general toleration—Instances of his respect for religious prejudices—His conduct towards the Jesuits—Liberty of the Press in Prussia—The King's forbearance under personal attacks—Hostile political publications prohibited.

It has been almost the fashion to consider the great Frederick, partly perhaps on account of his connexion with Voltaire and other philosophers of the French school, as a man wholly devoid of religious impressions of any kind, a disbeliever of the existence of a God, and consequently of the immortality of the soul; in short, as a downright atheist. How false this inference is must be apparent to the attentive reader from many passages in Frederick's letters, and in other of his writings quoted in the course of this work. As, however, the above epithet may not apply to the great majority of readers, I will here collect for their benefit such evidence on this important subject as cannot fail to convince the most careless and incredulous.

It was not to be expected that, as Frederick grew up to manhood, his inquiring mind should be satisfied to accept as orthodox truths all the religious notions which had been instilled into it by the command of his bigoted father. Accordingly, he began at an early age to think

for himself, to reason, and to draw his own conclusions. From the year 1736, when Frederick corresponded with Suhm and Voltaire, and conversed with Beausobre and Achard, the Protestant divines, on religious topics, to the end of his life, inquiries concerning the infinite were dear to his heart, and a favourite pursuit of his strong understanding. He not only believed with full and profound conviction the existence of God, but even defended it with zeal; he sought in pure morality the cheerful enjoyment of life; he consoled himself and others with the soothing doctrine of a future state; he maintained with eloquent pen the excellence of Christianity against its slanderers; and that he was a stanch Protestant he proved, indeed not without prejudice to his Catholic subjects.

We have seen Frederick frankly confessing, before his accession to the throne, that his faith was weak, but that he nevertheless made christian morals the rule of his life. He seems to have early adopted in practice the sentiment expressed by Pope:

> "For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight:
> His can't be wrong whose life is in the right."

What is this, indeed, but the doctrine inculcated by the great founder of Christianity himself in his sermon on the mount, in the words: "By their fruits shall ye know them," and again: "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, lord! shall enter the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven." May we not almost infer from these passages that the best men must have the best religion, and that he worships God in the greatest purity who strives most to imitate him! As sovereign, it was a law with

Frederick never to be weary of well doing; and with such a profession he did not deviate widely from the church, to which his theoretical convictions also approached nearer than many a one, not sufficiently informed on the subject, may conceive.

The earliest occasion on which Frederick circumstantially expresses his belief in God is his admirable letter to Beausobre, of the 30th of January, 1737. Eight days later, he wrote another to Voltaire to the same purport. "We strive in vain," he there says, "to understand what surpasses our powers of comprehension; and, in this world full of uncertainty, the most probable conjecture passes for the best system. Mine consists in this, that I adore the Supreme Being, who is alone good, alone merciful, and therefore alone worthy of my reverence; that I alleviate the condition of the unfortunate persons who are known to me; but every thing else I leave to the will of the Creator, who will dispense for me what He thinks fit, and from whom, happen what will, I have nothing to fear."

On the 26th of December, 1737, he writes to the same correspondent: "I have received your metaphysical essay on liberty. I am sorry to say that I am not entirely of your opinion. I ground my system upon this position, that one ought not voluntarily to renounce any knowledge which is to be acquired by the study of philosophy. This being pre-supposed, I take pains to learn as much of God as I can; and in this pursuit analogy is very serviceable to me. I see, in the first place, that the Creator is wise, and must be mighty. By means of his wisdom, he has, in his infinite understanding, devised the plan of the universe, and executed it by means of his omnipotence

.....If, then, God directs circumstances according to his will, he must direct and govern men also; and this principle is the basis, the foundation, as it were, of the system of Divine Providence, which conveys to me the noblest, the most exalted, and the most sublime idea that such a limited creature as man can form of so ineffable a Being as the Creator."

Frederick was twenty-five years old when these letters were written. They show that he had thus early adopted that line of belief and conduct, to which he stedfastly adhered till his latest breath, and which consisted in adoring a Supreme Being, the Creator of all things, and in imitating Him by doing all the good in his power to his creatures.

In the Codex Fridericianus, the king conjures the judges to act according to their consciences, "as they will have to answer for it before the just judgment-seat of God."

In the Epistle to Maupertuis, Frederick expresses his conviction of a universal Providence of God; a special Providence he did not admit, though there were occasions, at least in the earlier part of his reign, when he seemed to be impressed with a belief of the latter. "The general opinion," says the marquis de Valori, in his Memoirs, "is that the king has no religion; but I can attest that when I rejoined him, as soon as the battle of Hohenfriedberg was over, he embraced me, and said: 'My dear friend, God has singularly protected me, and struck my enemies with the spirit of blindness.' These words were uttered with a kind of enthusiasm, equally expressive of conviction and gratitude."

"The finite," says the king, in his Essay on Self-love, 1770, "cannot comprehend the infinite, consequently we

are not capable of forming any precise idea of the Deity: we can merely convince ourselves of his existence, and that is all. How can it be expected that an imperfect spirit should love a Being of which it has no sort of perception! Be it enough for us to adore in silence; and let our hearts indulge no other emotions but those of the most humble gratitude towards the Being of Beings, in whom and from whom all others have their existence." We find the same ideas amplified into a poetical effusion addressed three years later to d'Alembert.

In a conversation with Professor Sulzer, in 1777, the king said, among other things, that people had carried absurdity to such a length, as "to assume the existence of a God, who had produced a second, and these two had made a third between them." Sulzer replied, that the most eminent theologians, and some of the most distinguished clergymen of Berlin, had ceased to insist upon such questionable points; that the christian doctrines in general, as then taught by the preachers of the highest reputation in Berlin, had a totally different form from that which they wore when his majesty received instruction in religion. He observed, among other things, that provost Spalding had published a work which had been most favourably received (On the Usefulness of the Clerical Office), in which he endeavoured to correct the proud notion of the clergy that they had a special divine call to be the ministers of God, and represented to them that their vocation, considered in a merely practical point of view, according to which they were to instruct the people in their duties, and to exhort them to their performance, was noble enough. The king said: "That is excellent, and I would be the first to approve it." He added: "The

notion of the clergy of a special divine vocation is as absurd as the idea with which kings flatter themselves that they are the image of God upon earth. Look you," he proceeded, in a very grave and impressive tone, "if it were possible for me to make all my subjects perfectly happy, I should have operated only on a very small portion of the earth, which is itself an infinitely smaller portion of the universe. How could I dare to compare myself with that Being who governs this immeasurable universe, and keeps it in order!"

Here it may be proper to advert to a point on which the multitude have, with indolent credulity, followed blind or false guides. Formey and others, down to the present time, who designate Frederick by no other epithet but the Irreligious, represent him as having suffered himself to be led in metaphysical and religious matters, in his early years, by Duhan, and later in life by Voltaire, d'Alembert, and d'Argens. But whoever has made himself acquainted with the original sources for the study of this great man's character, whoever has perused Frederick's correspondence with all his friends, need not be told how independently the king began at a very early age to take his own course in regard both to convictions and actions, and that in the pursuit of knowledge he was not likely to pin his faith upon any man's sleeve. The subjoined quotations are introduced not as a justification of the French philosophers, but because they furnish documentary evidence that Frederick and his associates, so far from making war upon religion, only attacked superstition and its cruel consequences.

The marquis d'Argens, in his best work, entitled The Philosophy of Sound Reason, took up the defence of

positive religion; and, like several other friends and companions of the king's, he stedfastly adhered all his life to the faith of the Catholic church, the sacraments of which he received at his death.

In January, 1763, d'Alembert writes to Voltaire: "The king of Prussia is at last victorious, and I think with you, as a Frenchman and a reflecting being, that this is most fortunate for France and for philosophy. Those Austrians are shameless Capuchins, who hate and despise us, and whom I should like to see annihilated, together with the superstition which they cherish. I speak, like you, of superstition, not of the Christian religion, which I reverence, as well as its divine founder."

In 1769, Voltaire writes to the king: "True religion, true piety, true wisdom, consists in adoring God as the general father of all men without distinction, and in doing good." About the same time, he begs the king to send to press his admirable essay against Holbach. "Atheism," he says, "can never be productive of good, and superstition has done infinite mischief. Save us from these two abysses; if any one can render this service, it is yourself." Again Voltaire writes on the same subject: "If your majesty will give me your commands, the homage which the philosopher of Sans Souci pays to the Deity will prove a benefit to mankind: the king of the Deists will confound both atheists and fanatics, and nothing can have a better effect."

On the subject of God and virtue, Frederick's works bespeak the boldest confidence and the fullest conviction. On other points his mind was not so decidedly made up as not to be sometimes assailed by doubts and scruples. He strove to arrive at clearness, at certainty; and this,

one might say, *religious* aspiration after truth has been frequently overlooked, instead of being appreciated in the spirit of the apostle's admonition to "try all things;" nay, some have been so unjust as to seize upon these outbursts of painful doubt, and on their evidence to deny the king's belief in a future state. His Epistle to Keith, occasioned by the death of marshal Saxe, has been particularly quoted for this purpose. In this fine elegiac poem the author's sorrow is expressed passionately, and, it is true, doubtingly.

> "The man of truly noble mind—that man
> Hath never ask'd if other worlds reward
> The virtue that he follows—if they threaten
> The vices he eschews. In his own breast
> He finds his purest, highest recompence.
> In the effects of his good deeds he knows
> That he shall be immortal . . . . . .
> This is the only immortality
> Which death cannot destroy; while any other
> They tell us of, doubt, cloud, and mystery
> Brood over and keep veil'd from human ken.
> Man, if he would be happy, need but make
> Morality his teacher. Soon will come
> The time when every altar in our temples
> This golden maxim shall alone proclaim:
> The real friend of man lives in his works."

The poem in question, much as it has been censured, contains nothing more objectionable than these lines. But, it is alleged, the king has expressed himself in still stronger terms concerning a future state. It is true that the immortality of the soul was a subject which Frederick was fond of discussing. It was one of the topics, therefore, which he liked to introduce for the purpose of trying a scholar, for instance, who might be presented to him. It was dangerous, however, to hold a different opinion from his, and to enter into a long argument in support of it. He was soon out of patience,

and always contrived to floor his adversary by some unexpected and not always courteous sally. One day, a member of the Academy was stating a long series of reasons in favour of a future state, when Frederick cut him short. "What!" said he, "do you want to be immortal? I should like to know what you have done to deserve it." It is a fact, too, that in 1780 he wrote to d'Alembert, that he had no conception of an immortal soul.

This sceptic — and who is there that never doubted? — had, nevertheless, at all periods of his life, moments when his faith was very lively. We have seen how strongly he expressed it too on the death of his best beloved sister, the margravine of Bayreuth, when he declared that he should never more have a happy moment till he was reunited to her whose eyes were closed for ever. In December, 1758, he introduced precisely the same idea into the Epistle to Lord Marischall:—

"Happy who, from the yoke of Fortune free,
Lowly, unknown, can weep and grieve in peace!
When shall I break my golden chains; when quit
This sad abode of misery and pain;
When hail that moment—to my wounded soul
How soothing!—which with thee, illustrious sister,
Shall re-unite me!
Then, with the inmates of Elysium's bowers,
No longer shall we fear the scourge of Fate,
But cheer each other with consoling love
For all the woes that we have suffer'd here.
Our bosoms glowing with undying fires,
Our hearts to Friendship's sacred precepts true,
Shall closer knit Affection's hallow'd ties."

How near we here see the sceptic approaching to the believer! The tone abruptly changes:—

"But, ah, my spirit, whither dost thou stray!
What cheating vision placed these scenes before thee!

As, in oblivious sleep, a transient dream,
Seizing the torpid faculties, plays off
Its fanciful deceptions, till grave Truth
Scares them away on waking: so, alas!
Doth Reason, with her searching torch, dispel
The day-dreams sweet of immortality!"

The Epistle to d'Alembert, written in April, 1773, concludes thus:—"I have devoted my days to philosophy, without rejecting any of the innocent pleasures of life; and, as I approach the term of my career, enjoy the present, without fearing the future. What terrors, indeed, can there be after death! If body and soul are doomed to expire together, I shall return to the bosom of the earth, and mingle with it; but, if a spark of my mind exists after death, into the arms of my God will I betake me:—

"'S'il echappe au trépas un reste de mon feu,
Je me refugirai dans les bras de mon Dieu.'"

In 1776, when d'Alembert was inconsolable for the death of his friend Mademoiselle de l'Espinasse, Frederick wrote to him:—"Our reason is too weak to overcome the pain of so cruel a bereavement: we must yield somewhat to Nature, and, above all, we should say to ourselves that, at your age as well as mine, we ought to derive comfort from the reflexion, that it will not be long before we are reunited with the objects of our lamentation."—"All my friends," replied d'Alembert, "strive as you do to comfort me; but none of them knows how to add, like you, words so worthy of the friend and the philosopher." He here quotes the passage of the king's letter, which has been just given, and thus proceeds:—"Ah, sire, that is the only hope [the hope of reunion in a future state] which comforts me,

or rather which will enable me to support the few remaining days of my life."

A poem written by the king not long before his death, headed, "Whence? Where? Whither?" and beginning: "Whence came I? Where am I? Whither shall I go?" affords a remarkable evidence of the anxiety with which he sought after truth, that he might be able to console himself and others with the certainty of a personal existence after death. But effusions of this kind abound in Frederick's letters and poems: they all furnish the assurance that, while leading a christian life, he was sincere and indefatigable in his inquiries after truth; and that he found peace of mind in the consciousness of faithfully performing his duty, and in reliance on the goodness of God. How deeply his heart was impressed with the latter sentiment, he has furnished a touching proof in these lines:

"Even though the fate that must o'ertake this frame—
Annihilation—seize my humbled soul,
And bear it down to the dark realm of death;
Still would thine infinite goodness, O my God,
Be free from all impeachment; still thy mercy,
While dooming me to nothingness and night
Eternal, stand confess'd."

Concerning Christianity Frederick never expressed himself but with profound respect: nay, he came forward as its champion against the atheistical *Système de la Nature* of baron Holbach. In the letter which he transmitted with his critical examination of that system to d'Alembert, he observes: — "After so candid a confession, you will not say that the prejudices of childhood have induced me to undertake the defence of the Christian religion against this fanatic philosopher, who has slandered it with such acrimony." In the Essay itself he

asks: — "How can baron Holbach say with truth that the Christian religion is the cause of all the evils that afflict the human race? He would have expressed himself more correctly if he had said that the pride and selfishness of men use this religion as a pretext for disturbing the world, and gratifying their own passions . . . . . Did the Gospel contain nothing but this single precept! 'What ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them,' we should be obliged to confess that these few words comprehend the quintessence of the whole system of Christian morality. Has not Jesus, in his admirable sermon on the mount, preached forgiveness of offences, love, and humanity? We ought to go back to the law, not to the abuse of it, and not confound precept with practice, or genuine Christian morality with that to which priests have debased it." And three pages further we find this strong remark:—"If we admit the doctrine of fatalism, adieu to morality, adieu to virtue; the whole edifice of society crumbles to the ground."

Baron Holbach, one of the principal champions of the atheistical school in France, was a native of Edesheim, in the then province of Rhenish Bavaria. Residing from his early youth in Paris, he was enabled by his wealth to collect around him a circle of clever men, but who, as professed atheists, were excluded in some measure from the societies of Mesdames Geoffrin, d'Epinay, and others. Holbach was a great favourite on account of his social qualities; he possessed considerable attainments, translated several German and English works into French, and contributed a great number of articles on the natural sciences, politics, and philosophy to the Encyclopédie. His own works are tolerably numerous;

most of them were published in Holland, either anonymously, or under assumed names. The principal of his productions was the notorious *Système de la Nature*, just mentioned, in which he was assisted by Diderot. This book, which drew a refutation from Voltaire as well as Frederick, appeared under the name of Mirabaud, the academician: but, with the exception of some portions, it was well known to be Holbach's production. According to this system, every thing is matter; all that exists the work of blind necessity; God an invention of priestcraft, a tale almost too silly for children. The author continued to reside in Paris till his death, in 1789.

Frederick likewise took up the pen against du Marsais, advocate of the parliament of Paris. In 1769 this man produced an Essay on Prejudices, directed against the altar and the throne, though not so decidedly as Holbach's work. The king set about an examination of this essay: — "During my convalescence," he writes to d'Alembert, "the first book that fell into my hands was an Essay on Prejudices. This work roused me from the inactivity in which I was kept by the loss of my strength; and, as my ideas on many subjects are the very reverse of the ideas of the pretended philosopher who is the author of it, I have exerted all the energies of my mind to expose his errors."

In the essay in which Frederick represents self-love as the principle of morality, a hardened perseverance in vice, contemptuous treatment of virtue and her admirers, irreligion, perjury, perfidy, and indifference to the general welfare, are considered as sure precursors of the fall of states and the decline of empires, because the ideas

of good and bad are so confounded that there can exist no notion either of honour or shame, either of reward or punishment. The cause of such corruption the king found in the faulty education of youth, and in the defective training of the clergy. He must, of course, have laid particular stress on the faithful and consistent discharge of the clerical duties.

Several of Frederick's generals were eminently religious men—Schmettau, Fouqué, Saldern, Zieten, and others—but it is not true, as it has been alleged, that the king ever rallied or disparaged any of them on this account. The very reverse is the fact. Captain count Schmettau, who was not disposed to be Frederick's panegyrist, says, in the life of his father: "These, his religious sentiments, he never concealed from the king, and many a conversation took place between them on the subject. Though the king would then adduce his arguments against such convictions, he never scoffed at them; nay, sometimes, he concluded with observing, that, entertaining so strong a faith, Schmettau must be considered as a happy man, and he, the king, wished sincerely that he could acquire the like for himself."

If I feel warranted in asserting that Frederick was a warm friend and defender of true religion and of Christianity, I can also assert, that, during his whole reign, he showed himself the steady protector of Protestantism. A mind like his, which was desirous to explore all the higher walks of human knowledge, and to make advances in them, which dictated this sentiment, addressed to Voltaire, "We know what crimes religious fanaticism has produced; let us beware, then, of introducing fanaticism into philosophy, the character of which ought to

be mildness and moderation"—such a mind could do no other than extend equal protection, equal freedom of opinion, to the professors of all religions in his dominions; but his independent choice, the secret impulse of his heart, must have inclined him to evangelical Protestantism, as that church communion which alone, agreeably to the Scripture, grants a free trial, a full examination, and thereby promotes more enlightened views and a better founded hope and confidence.

When Frederick wrote his history of the house of Brandenburg, he had not, as we learn from the life of Joachim II., made up his mind respecting the Reformation: but, in his religious history of the electoral dominions, he observes, with reference to Luther and Calvin: "The Christian religion was so degenerated, that the character of its doctrine could scarcely be recognized. Nothing surpassed in its origin the holiness of its morality; but the disposition of the human heart to depravity soon corrupted it. At length, at the period of the Reformation, religion assumed a new form, and approached much nearer to the ancient simplicity. This is not the proper place to inquire, whether it might not have been better to leave it more pomp and ceremony, to give it more consequence in the eyes of the people, who are moved only by sensible impressions; for it seems as if so wholly spiritual and simple a worship as that of the Protestants was not made for material and unpolished men, who are not capable of elevating themselves by thought to reverence of the sublimest truths.

"The Reformation was beneficial to the world, and especially conducive to the progress of the human understanding. The Protestants, obliged to reflect on

matters of faith, shook off at once all the prejudices of education, and found themselves at liberty to use their reason, that guide of man. The Catholics, briskly attacked, were forced to defend themselves; the priests began to study, and to rouse from that gross and disgraceful ignorance in which they were almost universally lulled.

"If we consider religion merely on the political side, Protestantism seems to be the most desirable."

"On considering the work of the Reformers," says Frederick, in the preface to his abridgment of Fleury's Ecclesiastical History, "we must confess, that to their efforts the human mind is indebted for part of its progress; they have liberated us from a great number of gross errors, which darkened the understanding of our forefathers. They forced their adversaries to use more caution, and thereby prevented new species of superstition from springing up; they were persecuted, and thereby rendered tolerant. It was only in the sanctuary of this toleration, introduced in the Protestant states, that human reason could develop itself: here the sages of the nation cultivated philosophy; here they extended the circle of our knowledge. Had Luther done no more than emancipate princes and people from the abject slavery in which they were held by the court of Rome, he would deserve to have altars erected to him as the deliverer of his country. Had he torn away but half the veil of superstition, what gratitude would not truth owe for that! Nothing but the keen scrutiny of the Reformers deterred the fathers of the church, at the council of Trent, from their intention to make the Virgin Mary the fourth person of the Trinity: as some com-

pensation, however, they gave her the titles of 'Mother of God' and 'Queen of Heaven.'" And further on, where the king treats of the religious wars, he says: "It was then, amid the reeking ruins of the country, that Germany and Holland acquired that invaluable good—freedom of thought. The whole of the North subsequently followed their example."

In the year 1755, a report was circulated, that the margrave of Bayreuth and his consort had embraced the Catholic religion in France, which country they had just visited. Frederick directed his ambassador, baron Plotho, to give a formal contradiction to this report at the diet of Ratisbon. In the letter transmitting this order, the king thus expresses himself: "Never could we have imagined that so innocent a journey taken by our beloved sister to a warmer climate, solely and alone for the benefit of her health, could lead to inferences so highly injurious, and so extremely painful to our mind, especially as our royal and electoral house is one of those in which no example can be adduced of apostacy from the Protestant religion, professed by it for ages; and Divine Providence will, we fervently wish and hope, avert from it such a misfortune."

With this public declaration of Frederick's tallies his letter to Voltaire in 1776: "I thank you," he writes, "for the Catechism of Sovereigns, a performance which I should not have expected from the pen of the landgrave of Hesse. You do me too much honour in attributing his education to me. Had he belonged to *my* school, he would not have turned Catholic; neither would he have sold his subjects, like cattle for the slaughter, to the English"—in allusion to the troops

furnished by this prince to be employed in the American war.

This landgrave Frederick had been induced to relinquish the Protestant faith, without the knowledge of his father. William VIII., the old landgrave, had recourse in his grief to the king of Prussia, on whose recommendation the sons of the hereditary prince were sent to Holland; and, for the sake of their education, Prussia undertook to guarantee the testamentary provisions of their grandfather. On the marriage of the landgrave Frederick to his second wife, the princess Philippine of Schwedt, the king required of him a written promise, that all the issue of this union should be brought up in the reformed Protestant faith.

In Protestant Wirtemberg, also, the sovereign had turned Catholic. It therefore excited universal rejoicing among the people, when prince Frederic Eugene married a niece of the king's, the Protestant princess of Schwedt, and a stipulation that all his children should be brought up in the Protestant faith was introduced into the marriage contract. The states were so delighted with the prospect of regaining the reigning house for their church, that they settled upon the prince the annual sum of 25,000 florins in addition to his appanage. Frederick guaranteed the declaration of the prince; and, therefore, when the latter seemed, in 1769, to change his mind, the king obtained from him a solemn renewal of his vow.

Göthe has remarked, as a singular fact, the existence of a notion among the popish clergy, that Frederick himself was a concealed Catholic. "While Protestant watchmen on the walls of Zion," he observes, "insisted

that the king had no religion at all, the Romish in Italy attributed to him the only saving faith, and asserted that he had permission from the pope to keep this a secret, but that he performed his devotions in a subterranean chapel with deep compunction, because he durst not publicly profess the holy religion." At the same time, the king's public acts were giving the lie direct to such an imputation.

Though admitting the principle of universal toleration and full liberty of conscience, the king was extremely loth to appoint Catholics to civil offices; and he retained the ordinance issued by his father, that proselytes from the Catholic faith should not be capable of holding clerical or scholastic appointments in the Protestant communion, as one could never be sure how far they might be trusted in either capacity. Jews were, of course, still more strictly excluded from all public offices.

On the 5th of September, 1779, he addressed a celebrated cabinet order, in his own hand-writing, to baron Zedlitz, to this effect: "It is quite right that the schoolmasters in the country teach the young people religion and morals, and they must continue to do so, that the people may remain stedfast to their faith, and not go over to the Catholic, for the Protestant religion is the best and far better than the Catholic; therefore, the schoolmasters must take pains to keep up the attachment of the people to religion."

Frederick, moreover, manifested his attachment to Protestantism in the zeal with which he took up the cause of the oppressed members of that communion in other countries. He availed himself of the treaty of Dresden to uphold the church establishment in Saxony,

assuredly not without a knowledge of secret dangers, for it was stipulated in the eighth article that the Protestant church should be maintained inviolate in that country just the same as in his own dominions, agreeably to the terms of the treaty of Westphalia. On several occasions, he strove by his interposition to mitigate the sufferings of his fellow Protestants in Hungary; and, when the Catholic clergy aimed in all possible ways at their extirpation, the illustrious protector of the evangelical profession applied, in 1751, in an equally touching and apposite letter to his bishop of Breslau for his intercession. He says, among other things, that he was chiefly induced to write this letter by a most offensive production, published in the preceding year by the bishop of Vesprim, in which the empress-queen was even called upon to exterminate the Protestants. He therefore requested the bishop of Breslau to represent to the Catholic clergy of Hungary "to what danger they would expose themselves, if, in the course of time, by means of any of those changes which were in the hand of the Most High, one or other of the countries under the jurisdiction of the Romish church should fall under the sway of professors of a different faith, and these were to take into their heads to proceed with their new subjects upon the same principles that it is deemed right and proper to pursue in Hungary against those who are called heretics." Schaffgotsch, prince-bishop of Breslau, humbly declined the important commission, but sent the letter of his sovereign to Rome, that the pope might, by using his influence with the court of Vienna, prevent any abridgment of the immunities of the Catholics in the Prussian dominions. Benedict XIV. gave suitable in-

structions to his envoy, and the bishop of Vesprim's obnoxious paper was withdrawn.

To Voltaire the king wrote in 1777: "The Austrians have benefited little by the lessons of toleration which you have given to the world. Forty villages at once, in the circle of Prerau in Moravia, have declared themselves Protestants. The court, in order to bring them back into the bosom of the Church, has sent apostles to convert them with powder and ball arguments, and to shoot a dozen of these unfortunate people, while the others are burned. The facts which I here communicate to you are any thing but consolatory for humanity."

The following interesting anecdote, though bearing in some degree on the subject of which I am treating, serves still more to illustrate the close communication subsisting between the Catholic clergy in different countries, and the tact with which Frederick availed himself of the knowledge of this connexion to give them a useful lesson.

Before the suppression of the order of the Jesuits in the Austrian dominions, where they officiated as censors, the son of an Hungarian Protestant clergyman, named Hedhessi, having finished his studies at the university of Halle, was about to return to his native country, but first wished to see the monarch whose military renown then filled all Europe. For this purpose he travelled to Berlin, and thence went several times to Sans Souci, where the king was then residing, without accomplishing his object. At length, Frederick, who had an eye to all that was passing about him, perceived the young man looking intently at the palace, and sent one of his aides-de-camp to inquire who he was. The officer soon

learned his errand, which he reported to the king, who sent for the young Hungarian. With his usual affability, he entered into conversation with the stranger, and, finding him to be clever, unprejudiced, and well informed, offered him an appointment in Prussia, which Hedhessi declined, because his father reckoned upon finding in him a stay and support of his age. The king represented that, as soon as he obtained a living, for which he should not wait long, he might send for his father; but the student assured his majesty that nothing would induce his father to leave his flock and his native country. "I am truly sorry," said the king, "that I cannot do any thing for you."—"There is one favour," said Hedhessi, "which your majesty could do me, if you would be so gracious: I have bought a number of theological and philosophical books, which I rather think are prohibited at Vienna. The Jesuits have the revision of them, and they are very strict. If your majesty would have the condescension——"—"Take your books along with you, in the name of God," said the king, interrupting him; "and buy as many more that you know to be strictly forbidden at Vienna as can be of any use to you. And, if they attempt to take them from you there, say that *I* made you a present of them. The pious fathers will not care much about that — but never mind. Let them but seize the books; go immediately to my ambassador, tell him the whole story, and what I have said to you. Then go to the very first-rate hotel, and live as sumptuously as you please. Be sure to spend at least a ducat per day, and stay there till they send back your books to you. I'll take care of that. Be sure and do precisely what I bid you. They shall send your books

home to you—that I pledge myself for — but at least a ducat a day you must spend as I tell you."

The king then went hastily into the palace, and in a few moments returned with a slip of paper, on which he had written with his own hand as follows: "Bon pour rester à Vienne au dépens de moi. Federic." "There," said he, "there you have my name. Show that to my ambassador, and all will be right. You shall get your books again; but be sure and live well at Vienna, I tell you."—"But, your majesty——" —"No buts! Trust to me, and you shall get the best living in Hungary into the bargain. Now go, in the name of God, and let me hear from you."

The candidate set off, and every thing happened as it had been anticipated. His books were sealed on the frontiers, and taken from him in Vienna. When he said that the king of Prussia had made him a present of them, the Jesuits replied: "What care we in Vienna for the king of Prussia!" Hedhessi went forthwith to Frederick's ambassador, to whom the king had meanwhile written concerning this affair. The ambassador ordered one of his servants to take the candidate to the principal hotel in the city, and to tell the landlord to supply him with every thing of the best at the charge of the Prussian embassy. A report of these circumstances was immediately transmitted to Berlin.

Frederick instantly ordered a commission, composed of military and civil officers, to put seals upon the library of the Jesuits' college at Breslau, and to place two sentries at the door. Directions were given that the seals should be inspected every morning by a subaltern and a clerk of the chamber: for the sealing, the

sum of thirty dollars was charged to the account of the Jesuits, and four dollars per day for the subsistence of the commissioners. The reverend fathers were astounded at this procedure. They had hitherto enjoyed the king's protection, and could not imagine how they had forfeited his favour. The authorities were equally ignorant. They resolved, therefore, to send a deputation to Potsdam, and selected for the mission two fathers, who were known to the king, and towards whom he was well affected. On their arrival in Potsdam, they were obliged to wait a month before they were admitted to an audience. At length, on being introduced to his majesty, Frederick talked to them about indifferent matters, and, when they ventured to advert to the object of their journey, he cut them short with this reply: "Aha! about the library—about the sealing! right enough; it was done by my order. My ambassador in Vienna will acquaint you with the reason. Farewell, gentlemen; commend me to your brethren, Messieurs the commissioners for the revision of books in Vienna. I have no fault to find with you. Adieu!" With this intimation they were obliged to return to Breslau.

Another deputation was now despatched from that city to the Prussian ambassador in Vienna. "Indeed, gentlemen," said he to them, "I am not acquainted with all the circumstances of this affair, but there is a young man here, from whom your brethren, the commissioners of revision, have taken a chest of books." The eyes of the deputies now began to be opened: they hastened to their colleagues, and, in less than an hour, the heretical Hungarian had his books sent home to him. But this was not all: the pious fathers had

ninety-six ducats to pay for his expenses at the hotel. Provided with the ambassador's certificate that the books had been restored, and Hedhessi's expenses paid, the deputation travelled back to Potsdam, and was immediately admitted. After costs amounting to 134 dollars had been paid by the Jesuits in Breslau, the seals were removed from their library. The king assured the convent of his favour, and wrote thus to the father rector: "Do not fail to warn your brethren in Vienna and the members of the consistory there, against revenging themselves in any way upon Hedhessi. I shall make a point of inquiring frequently after his welfare; and if he does not get the best living in Hungary, or if he and his family, or the Protestants in general, are subjected to any vexations and annoyance, I shall hold you and your convent responsible, depend upon it." Hedhessi not only suffered no molestation, but was actually appointed to one of the best livings in his country.

A noble widow lady possessed an estate in a village of Westphalia, to which were attached certain rights over the inhabitants that reduced them nearly to the state of serfs. She was a zealous Catholic, and had taken their daughters from several of the villagers and placed them in a nunnery for education. Among these was the only child of an old invalid. He protested against the proceeding, went to the mansion, and desired to speak with the lady, but was not admitted. Exasperated at the injury done him, for the daughter who was thus taken from him was his only nurse and attendant in his advanced years, he expressed himself in no very measured terms, probably rapping out at the same

time a few of the execrations and abusive epithets current among the soldiers. He was in consequence beaten and shut up. In the night he contrived to escape, and immediately set out for Magdeburg. Destitute of every thing, he begged his way, and reached his journey's end just at the time of the review at Pietzpuhl. His resolution was soon formed. Provided with a petition, written for him by a compassionate person, he went on the following day from Magdeburg to Pietzpuhl. When he arrived, the king was engaged with a special review. He therefore went to his quarters, and planted himself close by, to await the return of the monarch. It was not long before Frederick came home. The veteran immediately attracted his notice by his superior stature, his snow-white hair, and his military carriage. He beckoned him to approach, and, on learning that he had a petition to present, took the man with him into his room. Here he delivered the petition, which the king read with the warmest interest. Having paced the room several times, as if greatly excited, he suddenly stopped before the aged invalid, laid his hand upon his shoulder, and said: "Be quite easy, father; you shall have your girl again." Again he paced the room, and, holding the petition in his left hand and striking it with the back of his right, exclaimed: "Fine doings truly in my dominions, if such things were to be suffered!" He seemed now to have formed his resolution. Again he stood still before the veteran. "Go home, my friend," said he; "make yourself easy; you shall have reason to be perfectly satisfied."

Supplied by command of the king with money for the journey, the veteran travelled slowly homeward.

On reaching his cottage, the door flew open, and his overjoyed daughter rushed into his arms. No sooner was his return known in the village, than a servant of the lady's came to invite him to the mansion. There he was received with extraordinary courtesy. The lady made the best excuse she could for her conduct, and acquainted him that she had assigned 200 dollars as a portion for his daughter. A peremptory order from the king had produced not only this effect, but the restoration of all the other girls who had been taken from their parents. By this lesson the fanatic zeal of the lady was effectually cooled.

In many passages of his works, Frederick lashes the ambition of churchmen in general and the bad use which they have made of their power. His animadversions are not directed against the Catholic clergy in particular, but numerous anecdotes attest that he harboured an equally unfavourable opinion of the Protestant. This disesteem may have arisen in a great measure from his position as prince, since he became early acquainted with the indefatigable efforts of the Church, not only to keep the people in leading-strings, but to subject the sovereigns also to their authority; in short, as he himself expresses it, "since he perceived how active their ambition was to extend their temporal power and their earthly greatness;" but assuredly his own youthful experience under the restraint of church ordinances, the spirit of persecution manifested by bigoted divines, and the importance attached to unprofitable forms, had their share in producing the impression. Hence the king always spoke of the clergy in the severest terms, ridiculing their foibles and their

absurdities, and calling them Shakers, Muckers,* and parsons.

When Dr. Moldenhawer, who was professor and held a living at Königsberg, first solicited his dismission, and afterwards wished to retain his appointments, Frederick wrote under the representation of his ministers: "The confounded parson does not know his own mind—devil fetch him!"

This dislike once fell with particular severity upon Gotthilf August Francke, son of the founder of the celebrated orphan-house at Halle, because Frederick considered him as the instigator of a memorial addressed by the theological faculty to the ecclesiastical department, praying that the company of comedians might be expelled from Halle. On the margin of the memorial, Frederick wrote with his own hand: "The clerical Mucker-crew are at the bottom of this. They shall play, and Mr. Francke, or whatever the scoundrel's name may be, shall be present, to make public reparation to the students for his silly memorial, and the manager shall send me a certificate that he was there." Though Francke was spared this humiliating punishment, which was commuted into a fine, yet the order for this was accompanied with a keen comment on the intrigues of priests, and the payment was enforced, though it appeared that Francke had by no means been the instigator of the petition, but that he had merely signed it as deacon for the time being. "For the

* Mucker, a term frequently used by Frederick, signifies a sanctimonious hypocrite, but has of late years been applied to a beastly crew discovered in the Prussian dominions, who made religion a cloak for the most disgusting sensuality. The curious reader may find a brief account of the principles and practices of this sect in that valuable work of reference, the CONVERSATIONS-LEXIKON, Art. *Mucker*.

future," wrote the king on the margin of the second representation of the spiritual department on this affair, "those reverend gentry will be more discreet, and not think to make game of the Directory and me. The Halle parsons must be held tight: they are Protestant Jesuits, and they must not be allowed the least authority on any occasion whatever."

When the seminary at Kloster-Bergen, near Magdeburg, had greatly declined under the management of abbot Hähn, the king ordered him to be removed without ceremony from his academical office, and an allowance to be granted him out of the large funds of the institution, till a general-superintendentship should be vacant. The order in his own hand-writing relative to this matter is as follows: "The abbot is of no use. We must have another in his stead. No man will send his children to the school, because the fellow is an extravagant pietistic fool," and his successor he confirmed with the remark: "Good,—so he is not a Mucker."

Nothing excited in the king greater indignation than religious frauds. On one of his journeys in Silesia he was informed, before he reached Breslau, that the Capuchins were selling agnus deis at six kreutzers each to the credulous country-people, as a specific against a disease then prevailing among the cattle in that province. They were directed to mix them up with the fodder of the beasts, which would be sure to recover. Indignant at this imposition, the king sent, on the very same evening that he arrived at Breslau, for the three superiors of the Capuchin convent there, and received them with one of his most withering looks and the following apostrophe: "Ah, you Shakers, how dare you presume

to sell to the country-people for a trifle that which in your religion is accounted the most venerable and the most sacred? Nay, more—you sell it to be eaten by cattle! Along with this impiety you have the effrontery to assure the bigoted peasants that this representation of your God is an infallible remedy for the distemper among the cattle. Shakers you, are ye not afraid that all the world will set you down for the miserable hypocrites ye really are? But what do you do with the money, you who want for nothing, but are abundantly supplied with alms for your support by your credulous people?—buy ribbons, perhaps, for your concubines?" Here one of the Capuchins would have spoken, probably to rebut the charge, but Frederick, with flashing eyes, cried, "Silence! If it is not you, it is your religious, or rather the irreligious and impious monks under your authority. They do it, I know. If you know it, you are guilty; if you know it not, you are equally so. I ought to put a stop to the public scandal by punishing you, but this time I will spare you. But, beware! Depend upon it you shall be narrowly watched; and woe betide you if anything of the kind should happen again! I would have all your beards shaved off. Now march!" Trembling beneath the lightnings of the king's eye and the thunder of this harangue, the Capuchins retired, and they were prudent enough not to repeat the offence.

Some time afterwards, the king related this circumstance to one of his company who was a Catholic, and when he had finished, he asked: "Did I act right? As a good Roman Catholic, you can tell me if among you [the king was speaking French] agnus deis are consecrated for the beasts. Ought I to wink at an abuse

by which the people are duped and cheated of their money, besides the real scandal occasioned by it?"—"O sire," was the reply, "a Catholic prince could not have acted better; he must have preferred resorting to the Inquisition."—"Nay, nay, I do not carry my zeal so far as that. This point I leave to the most faithful and most Catholic kings; I dare not presume to encroach on their honourably acquired rights."

With the principle of toleration adopted by the king, he could not permit any church to assume a superiority over the others, or even to display a fanatical zeal. "Whoever destroys fanaticism," he observed, "dries up the most pernicious source of feuds and enmities, which are yet present to the memory of Europe, and of which bloody traces are to be found among all nations." That he might not render himself liable to the charge of fanaticism, Frederick took good care not to attack prejudices and errors by violence. "Loretto," said he, "might stand close to my vineyard; I should never think of touching it. Not that I respect the gifts which stupidity has sanctified; but one must have forbearance for that which is reverenced by the public and not give scandal to any one. If we deem ourselves wiser than other people, still we ought, out of complaisance or pity for their weakness, to avoid shocking their prejudices."

With this exposition of his sentiments, the conduct of the king exactly coincided. Upon the altar in the church of the Holy Cross at Neisse, in Silesia, was placed an image of the Virgin Mary, which was richly adorned with diamonds. It was observed that several stones of considerable value disappeared one by one, and increased vigilance was used to discover by what means they were

removed. At length a soldier was caught in the fact, apprehended, and carried to the main guard, where he was put in irons. The delinquent appeared perfectly composed and stedfastly refused to deliver up the valuables which he had purloined; neither could they be taken from him till after the first examination. During the ten years that the accused had been in the service, he had never incurred punishment or even reprimand. At the examination, he insisted that he had committed no offence whatever; that the things found upon him were presents voluntarily made by the Blessed Virgin; and, as the articles of war contained no prohibition to accept presents, he had not done anything for which he could be punished. He then entered into the following explanation: "I am getting old, my strength is declining, and I want something to cheer me under the fatigues of the service. But, with the pay I receive, it is impossible for me to procure those comforts which I need. In this distress, I resolved to have recourse to the Virgin, prostrated myself before her in prayer, and besought her aid. She smiled graciously upon me, and said: 'I will relieve thee:' with her own hand she then took these jewels from her dress, put them into mine and gave them to me. You see I have committed no offence; I am perfectly innocent."—"Downright humbug!" cried the auditor.

A court-martial was summoned, and the soldier was condemned to die. General Schwarz, commandant at Neisse, transmitted this sentence to the king, accompanied with testimonials of the previous good conduct of the delinquent; and, with a view to save the man's life, he suggested that his intellect might be somewhat de-

ranged. Frederick caught at the idea; but it was necessary to pay some regard to the laws and to the faith of the Catholics of Neisse, who were highly incensed at the circumstance.

It chanced that soon afterwards the bishop of Ermeland came to Potsdam. The king asked whether his church admitted that the saints still had the power of performing miracles. The bishop said that miracles were now very rare, but that it was possible for them to happen. Frederick then related to him the case of the soldier, and requested the bishop to state his opinion of it. The prelate replied that the case was certainly not very probable, especially as the man was a Lutheran, but yet he could not pronounce it to be quite impossible.

The king, in consequence, wrote as follows underneath the sentence: "The bishop of Ermeland himself asserts that the Virgin Mary can still perform miracles. I, therefore, do not see why the statement of the soldier, who has always borne an exemplary character, should be questioned. The soldier must be released forthwith; but, to prevent any imposition in future, I strictly forbid petitions of this kind to be addressed to the saints. If any soldier should hereafter be convicted of having received a present from the Virgin Mary or from any other saint, he shall run the gauntlet thirty-six times through 200 men."

One day the king was marching with the army in Bohemia in close columns. Zieten led the advanced guard as usual, the king the main body. About ten o'clock in the forenoon, the head of the advanced guard approached a village, where many thousands of people

from the surrounding country were holding a solemn procession. If the troops had continued their march, they must have dispersed this train and interrupted the pious ceremony. The officer who was at the head of the advanced guard, therefore, sent to Zieten to inquire what he was to do. "As we have plenty of time," replied the general, "we will not disturb the people in their public worship, but halt till they have done."

The king, who could not guess the reason of the stoppage, immediately sent an aide-de-camp to Zieten, and, on learning the cause, approved the forbearance of the general. This accidental circumstance was productive of an extraordinary piece of good fortune. As the Prussian army was completely covered, a corps of the enemy, expecting to find the king at a different place, passed at the distance of seven miles, and, finding there no signs of a foe, carelessly encamped; which would not have been the case had the Prussians continued their march. Zieten came upon them unawares, and destroyed the whole corps.

"You have done quite right, I see," said Frederick to Zieten, "in paying respect to the saints: they have not made you wait long for your reward. It is wrong to offend any body, even a saint."

The following circumstance affords a proof of the king's solicitude that the religious feelings of his own troops should be duly respected. Colonel Lestwitz, who had contributed so materially to the victory of Torgau that Frederick exclaimed, "Lestwitz has saved the State!" and who was in 1766 appointed commandant of Potsdam, one day had the garrison marched out of the town for the purpose of manœuvring: the king

waited for it at the gate. While he was there, he heard the sound of the bells, and was told that it was Good-Friday. With look of displeasure he rode to meet Lestwitz. "How can you be so unreasonable," he exclaimed, "as to march the troops out for the purpose of exercising on such a day as this! Let them face about immediately, and return to their quarters. You ought to have considered this; I have other things to think of."

In the following year, when this officer was promoted to major-general, the king gave him the domain of Friedland in the circle of Upper Barnim, with a letter to this effect: — "I have not forgotten the important services which you rendered me during the last war; and I have long waited for an opportunity to reward you. I could not do it till now. Take possession of the estates, of which I herewith enclose a deed of gift."

Frederick's conduct towards the Jesuits was very remarkable. In 1765, when the pope issued a bull confirming that order, the king wrote to d'Alembert that he had immediately prohibited it in his dominions, as he would no longer protect mischievous vermin, which sooner or later would every where have the same fate that they had experienced in Spain and Portugal. On the 5th of May in the above-mentioned year, writing to the same correspondent, he says: — "Vivent les philosophes! The Jesuits are expelled from Spain: the throne of superstition is undermined, and will be demolished before the end of another century." Four years later, however, he viewed the matter in a totally different light, for, in April, 1769, just after the emperor Joseph's visit to Rome, he wrote to d'Alembert, "that, in all probability, it was only upon a promise that the Je-

suits should be totally suppressed that the new pope would be suffered to be inthroned; as for himself, he should make it a point of honour to preserve the remnant of that order in Silesia, and, though a heretic, not to aggravate their misfortunes."

Accordingly, when Clement XIII. had actually suppressed the Jesuits, the celebrated bull *Dominus ac redemptor noster*, promulgating that measure to the Catholic world, was not allowed to be published in the Prussian dominions. The king, on the contrary, wrote to the abbé Colombine, his agent in Rome, to this effect: —"Tell every body who will listen to you, but without swagger or affectation, and seek also a suitable opportunity to say to the pope or to the prime minister, that, in regard to the Jesuits, I am determined to retain them in my dominions on the same footing as hitherto. At the peace of Breslau, I guaranteed the *status quo* in matters of religion for Silesia. I have never found better priests in all respects than the Jesuits. Add at the same time that, as I belong to the class of heretics, his holiness can no more dispense me from the obligation to keep my word, than from the duties of an honest man and a sovereign." From this period he very often styled himself in his letters, "The Ex-Jesuit of Sans-Souci."

The Jesuits continued on their former footing in Prussia till 1776, when they laid aside the name and the habit of the order, and, with the appellation of Priests of the Royal Seminary, were required to devote themselves exclusively to the education of the Catholic youth. They were to be maintained out of the revenues of their colleges, and in every thing connected with their

functions to be under the jurisdiction of a board called the School-commission. In 1781 this institution was dissolved, and only so many members were retained as were requisite for the schools, and formed a sort of corporation under a separate board, which, however, was abolished in 1787, whereupon their possessions were sold.

In 1780, at the suggestion of d'Alembert, the king proposed to the class of speculative philosophy in the Academy of Berlin this remarkable prize-question: — "Can any delusion be beneficial to the people, whether it consists in leading them into new errors, or in the encouragement of such as are old and deep-rooted?" Out of the 33 essays qualified for the competition, 20 answered the question negatively, 13 affirmatively. The Academy divided the prize between the best of each class. Becker, one of the successful candidates, denied that rulers or the instructors of the people were authorized, under any circumstances, to practise or to encourage delusion, because delusion leads to error, error to sin, sin to misery. To which side Frederick inclined must be obvious, from the uniform tendency of his works and his government. "My principal occupation," he writes to Voltaire in 1770, "in the provinces of which the accident of birth has made me sovereign, consists in combating ignorance and prejudice, in enlightening minds, in improving morals, and in striving to make the inhabitants as happy as human nature is capable of being, and as the means that I have at my disposal will permit."—"Superstition," he writes in 1775 to d'Alembert, "is manifestly on the wane in the Catholic countries: if this only continues for a short time, the

monks will quit their cells and return to the world; the prejudices of the people will no longer be upheld and fostered, and Reason will be able to show her face again in open day without fear of persecution and scaffolds. The enthusiasm of religious zeal has abated: so many good books, which expose the absurdity of the fables that are held sacred by the people, have removed the cataract which darkened the sight of the highest of the clergy, who are ashamed of their senseless idol, and are secretly labouring to overthrow superstition."

"Frederick," says an historical work, printed in Vienna, "favoured in his dominions, not out of hypocrisy, but honestly and sincerely, and well aware of his own power of control, the free development of mind, and a spirit of inquiry, which, in spite of the excrescences incident to human things in general, was, nevertheless, beneficial in its consequences; while other governments, stifling by inquisitorial measures the spirit of their people, that surest pledge of their power, that unfailing resource in time of need, dared put their trust in mediocrity and impotence alone; or, if in the direst extremity they did call forth that spirit, they recoiled from it in terror the moment it appeared." The king's toleration, his efforts in behalf of liberty of conscience and of opinion, his solicitude for the diffusion of knowledge among his subjects, were not consequences of any personal indifference to matters of religion; but these objects were pursued by him as means for enlightening and humanizing his people. This is proved by the almost unlimited liberty of the press enjoyed in his dominions, to the essential benefit of science, as well as of the book-trade.

So great was the freedom not only of the press but

also of conversation in Prussia, that it astonished foreigners, impressed with the arbitrary nature of the form of government. "Nothing more surprised me," observes the well-known English traveller, Dr. Moore, "when I first came to Berlin, than the freedom with which people spoke of the measures of the government and of the conduct of the king. I have heard political topics, and others which I should have thought still more ticklish, discussed here with as little ceremony as in a London coffee-house. The same freedom appears in the booksellers' shops, where literary productions of all kinds are sold openly. The pamphlet lately published on the division of Poland, wherein the king is very roughly treated, is to be had without difficulty, as well as other performances, which attack some of the most conspicuous characters with all the bitterness of satire. A government supported by an army of 180,000 men may safely disregard the criticisms of a few speculative politicians and the pen of the satirist. While his majesty retains the power of disposing of the lives and properties of his subjects as his wisdom shall direct, he allows them the most perfect freedom to amuse themselves with as many remarks or jokes on his conduct as they please."

In 1747 the king issued an ordinance, according to which all works printed in his dominions were to be examined by the Academy of Sciences, but this measure was soon revoked as impracticable. The publishers took an undue advantage of the entire liberty of the press which ensued, and one of them was sent to Spandau for six months, for printing a work in which the Christian religion was attacked. The king declared that in such

cases no mercy should be shown; and in March, 1749, he assented to the proposal of the minister of justice for a censorship, at the same time intimating his desire that a sensible man, who would not take notice of every bagatelle, should be placed at the head of it. "In re-establishing the censorship," says the edict, dated the 11th of May, 1749, "it is not our intention by any means to prevent the serious and decent search after truth, but more especially to put a stop to that which is contrary to the principles of religion, as well as to moral and social order." So closely did the censors conform to the intention here expressed by the king, that their imprimatur was very rarely applied for. Nicolai, the bookseller, relates that, in 1759, being always scrupulous in the observance of the subsisting laws, he applied to Dr. Heinius, as censor of philosophical works, to examine the "Letters on Modern Literature," which he was about to publish. "Heinius," he adds, "was astonished that any person should think of submitting a book to the censorship—a circumstance which had not occurred to him for a long time — but complied with my request."

In 1768, Manson, editor of the Courier du Bas-Rhin, published at Cleves, made some remarks on the conduct of d'Alembert towards the recently deceased abbé d'Olivet. D'Alembert, who, by the by, was one of the liberals of his day, complained to the king, and, to make the more sure of having his revenge on the newspaper-writer, he entered into a more circumstantial detail of his offence in a letter to le Cat, concluding — "This wretched scribbler deserves to be hanged." At these words Frederick exclaimed—"Hanged! oho, hanged!

In my dominions people are not hanged so lightly; it will be quite sufficient if I bid him be more cautious." And in his answer to the philosopher, he said—" Ah, my dear d'Alembert, if you were king of England, you would be obliged to put up with a very different sort of language, with which your loyal subjects would treat you to exercise your patience. If you knew what a multitude of infamous publications your dear countrymen sent forth into the world against me during the war, you would laugh at this ' wretched scribbler.' I did not think it worth my while to notice these productions of the hatred and envy of my enemies. Such, my friend, is the counsel which an old poet has to give to a philosopher."

Notwithstanding this rebuff, the philosopher again complained, in 1771, of this same Manson, because he had asserted that a deceased advocate of Paris was a man " of obscure origin;" but Frederick sarcastically replied—" As for the newspaper-writer of the Lower Rhine, the Mauleon family will forgive him for not being enlightened, as minds not enjoying liberty of the press continue in darkness; and as the Encyclopedists, whose zealous disciple I am, while they cry out against all censorship, insist that the press ought to be free, and that every one should be at liberty to write just what he thinks."

Manson was probably under other obligations to the king; for, in 1788, he writes concerning him, with the warmest feeling of gratitude—" Under any other less just or less firm monarch, I should be either not alive now or shut up."

Voltaire, who professed, like Frederick and d'Alem-

bert, to devote his life to truth, and was equally zealous for the extermination of error, superstition, the delusions of priestcraft, and, above all, to use the polemical expression of the orthodox Protestants, "the whore of Babylon," as the principal adversary of truth, projected, with the permission of the king, the foundation of a colony of philosophers at Cleves. In 1769, however, he wrote in despair to Frederick, that he had not been able to find three philosophers in favour of his idea, though Ignatius Loyola might easily have collected a dozen disciples.

None of the self-styled philosophers of his time would, I am persuaded, have shown such a generous forbearance and such good-humour under personal attacks, as Frederick displayed throughout his whole life. In 1752, a defamatory work in the French language, intitled, Private Life of the King of Prussia, was published in Saxony. Darget proposed to write a refutation of it, but the king said to him—"My dear Darget, the calumnies in that work are not worth notice. It is for me to do my duty, let the evil-disposed say what they please."

A bitter satire, likewise in French, upon Frederick's Miscellaneous Poems, with the title of Anti-Sans-Souci, was lying for sale in March, 1761, in the shop of Pitra, the French bookseller, in Berlin, who supplied the king. The name of Formey, the academician, had been falsely attached to it. D'Argens informed Frederick of the circumstance and said, "For the last year, not a month has gone by without producing some libel against the philosophers. Among the rest there is one, intitled, Anti-Sans-Souci, a thick volume, and worthy of the pen

of a hackney-coachman." The king made no inquiry about it.

The Berlin Calendar for 1771 contained twelve subjects by Chodowiecki from Don Quixote, with the portrait of Joseph II. facing the title. The people of Vienna, conceiving that a satirical allusion was intended, were deeply nettled. Frederick directed the Academy to choose still more ludicrous subjects for the following year, and to prefix his own portrait. Scenes from the Orlando Furioso were accordingly selected.

Writing to Voltaire, in 1775, the king says: "I am not acquainted with the Polish Dialogues which you mention. I think of satire like Epictetus: 'If people speak ill of you, and it is true, amend yourself; if lies, laugh at them.' I have become with practice a good post-horse, run my stage, and care not for the curs that bark at me on the road." In a subsequent letter, he again adverts to the Dialogues: "I have at length procured the seven Dialogues, and am thoroughly acquainted with their history. The author of this work is an Englishman, named Lindsey, a clergyman, and tutor to the young prince Poniatowski, nephew of the king of Poland. He wrote his satire, at the instigation of the Czartoryskis, in English: one Gerard, French consul at Danzig, who is not deficient in wit, but who has done me the honour to hate me with all his heart, has revised it, and given it the form in which it appears. It has made me laugh heartily: here and there it is coarse and heavy, but, on the other hand, it contains some really sparkling ideas. At any rate, I shall not enter into a paper war with this sycophant. The saying of cardinal Mazarin: 'Let the French sing, so they let us rule,' is worth attending to."

During the time of the coffee monopoly, the king, taking a ride in Berlin, found a great concourse of people near the Princes' House. He sent his only attendant, a heyduck, to learn what was the matter. "They have posted up something about your majesty," was the information brought by his messenger. Frederick, on a nearer approach, perceived a representation of himself, sitting in a pitiable posture on a low stool, with a coffee-mill between his knees, grinding away with one hand, while with the other he was carefully picking up every bean that dropped out. As soon as the king perceived what it was, he cried out: "Hang it lower, and then the people need not strain their necks to look at it!" These words were followed by general cheers. The caricature was torn into a thousand pieces, and a universal shout of "Long live the king!" accompanied the monarch as he slowly rode on.

A fiscal commenced proceedings against the author of a work entitled "The Greedy Dog," insisting that the king was designated by this appellation. Frederick only laughed, and desired the fiscal not to apply to him all the stupid things that were written.

In 1781, a bookseller begged the king not to prohibit a coarse French satire, entitled The Process of the Three Kings, namely, of France, Spain, and England, in which Frederick himself, as advocate-general, had no very flattering part assigned to him, lest he should be a loser by the stock that he had on hand. Frederick advised him to get rid of his copies as fast as he could, before the work was prohibited.

If it may be asserted that there was no censorship at all for scientific works, and that the like freedom was

allowed for personal satires and attacks on the king, politics and matters of administration were regarded, on the other hand, as forbidden ground, any daring encroachment on which was sure to be repressed. Foreign publications adverse to the king's interest were prohibited without ceremony. On this subject he writes to d'Alembert, when the affairs of Poland and Turkey were exciting great sensation, in direct hostility to the Encyclopedists: "Respecting the liberty of the press, and the satires, which are an inevitable consequence of it, I must confess, from what I know of men, and I have studied them a good while, that I am almost convinced that restrictive measures are absolutely necessary, because freedom is invariably abused; so that books ought to be subjected to a not over-rigid but sufficient examination, in order to suppress whatever endangers the general safety and the welfare of society."

In accordance with this principle, during the Bavarian succession war, in November, 1778, the king issued an ordinance, prohibiting the circulation of certain foreign newspapers in his dominions. "Whereas," he says, in this edict, "since the commencement of the present hostilities, foreign newspaper writers have shown an unallowable partiality against the Prussian state, his majesty strictly forbids all his subjects, of whatever rank or condition, to receive, import, or sell in his dominions the French newspapers published at Brussels, Cologne, and Frankfurt," upon penalty of a fine of 50 ducats, half to the treasury and half to the informer.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Causes of Frederick's indifference to German Literature—His contempt for the French and their Literature during the latter part of his reign—Remarkable Letter on this subject—His Essay on German Literature—Little encouragement afforded by him to Universities and Schools—State of the Drama during the latter half of Frederick's reign—The French Theatre—The Italian Opera—Mara—Rise and Progress of the German Drama in Berlin—The King's opinion of Shakspeare's Plays, and of Göthe's Götz von Berlichingen.

Frederick has been very generally charged with an indifference, nay, even a contempt, for the language, the literature, and the writers of Germany, and an almost idolatrous partiality for those of France. But he was neither so supercilious a contemner of the one, nor so enthusiastic an admirer of the other, at least in the latter half of his life, as those who are but superficially acquainted with his character and sentiments may consider him. Born and brought up at a time when a spirit of imitation had not only spread the contagion of French manners to almost every court of continental Europe, but rendered the language of Louis XIV. the universal medium of conversation in the highest circles; at a time when, in consequence, German was debased into a barbarous jargon; Frederick imbibed from those to whose care he was committed from his earliest infancy a natural predilection for French, which was in reality his mother-tongue. Hence his neglect of the language of the country which he was born to rule, and which indeed produced scarcely a writer worthy of notice in the first half of the 18th century; so that Frederick never learned to express himself in German with correctness, much less

elegance. When, some years after his accession, a brighter era for German literature began to dawn, the king was too much engrossed by the cares of government and by wars to pay attention to its productions.

It was only because Germany had, in fact, no literature, no taste, before his own achievements inspired a feeling of independence, and furnished materials for the poet, that Frederick's classically endowed mind turned towards the fruits of foreign genius; and it is very certain that his preference of the French Muse arose from any thing rather than an unnatural aversion to the German.

The warmth of the king's attachment to his country is proved both by his conduct and by the whole of his political works. "The true merit," he says, "of a good prince is to be sincerely attached to the general welfare, and to love his country and its glory;" and this spirit is strongly expressed in his animated Ode to the Germans in 1758.

In 1743, the king encouraged Quandt, the royal chaplain, and professor Flotwell, of Königsberg, to found a German Society, one of the principal objects of which was the cultivation of the German language. To this society, which still exists, Frederick gave the title of Royal, assigned to it apartments in the palace for its meetings, and granted exemption from the censorship for any works that it should print.

The laws of the Academy of Sciences, when re-modelled, in 1744, repeat the injunction contained in the document authorising its foundation, in 1701: "Among other useful studies, this Society shall pay particular attention to all that tends to the preservation of the Ger-

man language in its purity, and to the honour and adornment of the German nation; so that in its spirit it may be a purely German Society of Sciences." Among the subjects recommended to the attention of the philological class of the Academy, the German language was particularly specified.

In his conversations with Gottsched, Frederick once said: "I am too old now to learn German, and I am sorry that, when I was young, I had neither instruction nor encouragement; or I should certainly have devoted many of my leisure hours to good German translations of Roman and French writers."

When Gellert observed in his interview with the king: "Your majesty is prejudiced against the Germans," "No," rejoined the king, sharply, "I cannot say that." — "Against the German writers, at least." — "That is true! Why have we no good historians?"

But for the king's encouragement, Garve would not have given to his countrymen his masterly translation of Cicero's work *De Officiis*. Frederick became acquainted with him in Breslau, during the war of the Bavarian succession, and explained to him how, according to his ideas, such a translation ought to be executed. Garve presented his work in August, 1783. "Indeed," he observes in a letter to Weisse, "I am perfectly satisfied with my success in this book, which far exceeds my expectations." The king granted him a pension of 200 dollars; and when he was at Breslau in 1784, he sent for him and made him a present.

Frederick continued to recommend the attentive perusal of the ancients, and the impulse given by him caused the scholars in his dominions to cultivate the

field of classic literature with greater care and assiduity. In his time too the study of the German language was carried in Prussia, and by Prussians, to an unprecedented height.

If, therefore, it admits not of a doubt that the great king had deeply at heart the honour of Germany, intellectual as well as military, it is equally certain that, with the exception of his friends and a few men of eminent genius, he thought very meanly of the French. He considered neither their character in general, nor their literature, which gradually declined during the second part of his reign, as entitled to respect and admiration. This is sufficiently attested by passages in his letters and other works, as well as by oral expressions used even in the presence of the French ambassadors.

In 1742 he writes to Voltaire: "Our people of the North are not so soft as the Westerns: the men with us are less effeminate, and of course more manly, more capable of labour, of endurance, but perhaps less galant. And it is precisely this Sybarite life which is led in Paris, and which you make such a fuss about, that has robbed your troops and your generals of glory."

Writing to the same correspondent three years later, he observes: "The picture which you draw of France is painted in very brilliant colours; but, say what you will, an army which runs away for three successive years, and is beaten wherever it does show itself, is indeed not fit for a Cæsar or an Alexander." In his Ode to the prince of Brunswick, on the retreat of the French in 1758, the king expresses himself still more strongly.

To the military character of the French, then, Frederick's works are far from complimentary. How does

he speak of them in regard to other points? In 1761 he writes to d'Argens: "The French have in reality only three tragic poets—Racine, Crebillon, and Voltaire: the others are not to be endured." In 1779 he says to d'Alembert: "I cannot tell how you French divert me. This nation that is always grasping at novelties is continually affording me new scenes; at one time, the expulsion of the Jesuits, presently their recall; at another, certificates of confession, or the suppression of the parliament; every three months fresh ministers; in short, you alone furnish all Europe with topics of conversation. If Providence thought of me at the creation of the world, it most assuredly made that nation for my amusement."

After the death of the marquis d'Argens during a temporary residence at Toulon, whither he had gone from Aix, the monument which Frederick dedicated to his friend was not allowed to be placed over his remains, but erected as a cenotaph in the latter city. On this occasion the king thus wrote to d'Alembert: "If such scandalous things can take place, who will have the impudence to call the 18th century the age of philosophy? No; so long as princes wear theological chains; so long as those who are paid merely to pray for the people shall be their rulers; so long will truth, which these tyrants of the mind suppress, not enlighten the nations; the wise will think only in silence, and the grossest superstition will reign in the land of the French."

"I see with pain," writes d'Alembert to the king in 1774, "that your majesty has been for some time past rather severe upon the French nation. I confess that it deserves this in many respects, and nobody deplores

more than myself the cruelties and absurdities which disgrace my beloved country." Frederick replies: "I greatly admire you French, when you have sound sense and understanding. I estimate very highly Turenne, Condé, Luxembourg, Gassendi, Bayle, Boileau, Racine, Bossuet, even Deshoulières, and in the present century Voltaire and d'Alembert; but my power of admiration is confined within certain limits; and it is impossible for me to admit into this sphere abortions of Parnassus, philosophers with paradoxes and sophistries, false wits, generals always beaten, never beating; painters without colouring, ministers without integrity, &c. After this confession, condemn me if you can."

In 1775 the king writes to the same correspondent: "I have seen Le Kain perform, and admired his talent. This man would be the Roscius of his age, if he would not overdo the thing so much. I like to see our passions represented as they really are: such acting moves the inmost recesses of the heart; but whenever art stifles Nature, I am quite cold. I dare say you think: 'That is the way of the Germans; they have but faintly defined passions: they dislike strong expressions, because their feelings are weak.' That may be: I will not set up for the panegyrist of my countrymen. Besides, it is true enough that they never pull down mills, neither do they destroy grain when they complain of the dearth of corn: and so far they have not got up either St. Bartholomew nights or rebellious civil wars."

"Yes," writes the king to the same correspondent in 1776, "France has philosophers, but I maintain that the greater part of the nation is more superstitious than any in Europe. This mania is always breaking forth,

as in the prosecutions of Calas, of the Sirvens, and of de la Barre, in the affair of d'Argens at Toulon, in the outcry of the public against Necker — in short, a hundred instances show that the mischievous leaven of fanaticism is still fermenting in France, and that it will keep its ground there longer than in any other country in Europe. Thanks be to Fate that Germany is growing more tolerant from day to day; that baneful religious zeal, the motive of so many bloody scenes, is cooling, and nobody thinks of asking those with whom he has dealings of what religion they are. And on this account Germany deserves that d'Alembert, the philosopher, should cast a look upon it." This d'Alembert himself was well aware of, and he replied in these remarkable words: "Oh! how just is your majesty's observation that France, with all the philosophers of whom she boasts, with or without reason, is still one of the most superstitious and least cultivated nations in Europe, and that your good Germans, whom our gentry affect to despise, are far less stupid than we! I know none but the Spaniards to whom we must yield the honour of precedence in religious folly."

Again in 1777 the king writes to d'Alembert: "A certain nation of the South, called the French, is poking its nose every where, frequently where it has no business, and carrying the restlessness with which it is itself consumed from one end of the globe to the other: it fancies that, by communicating this restlessness to others, it shall diminish the portion that has fallen to its share, and be less agitated; but this is labour in vain."

Of the French arms it was impossible that the king should entertain a high opinion. For various reasons

he would not have any French in his army; and he never conceived an idea of visiting Paris, which he used to compare with Sodom and Gomorrah.

With the like impartiality, one might even say aversion, the king expresses his opinion of the decline of French literature. In 1769, he writes to d'Alembert: "Your literature is on the decline, and, out of a hundred works that are published, it is much to find one that is tolerable." A month later he says: "I must confess that I am quite disgusted with the new books that now come out in France. One finds in them so much that is superfluous, so many paradoxes, such unfounded and incongruous arguments, and with these faults so little genius, that one might actually conceive a disgust of the sciences themselves, had not the past century produced masterpieces of every kind."

Thiriot, who, from the year 1736, had been the king's literary agent and correspondent in Paris at a small salary, died there in 1772. D'Alembert immediately proposed Suard, and afterwards, at Voltaire's request, Laharpe, for the situation. Frederick, however, determined to dispense with such an agent in future, in the same spirit that he dismissed the French officers of excise, the French comedians in Berlin, and the French army-surgeons: "I will have no more Frenchmen; they are too dissolute, and play all sorts of knavish tricks."

When d'Alembert was made acquainted with the king's resolution, he wrote as follows: "Your majesty intends, then, not to have any literary correspondent in future. I must confess that our literature has somewhat declined: we have abundance of thistles, some flowers which very soon fade, and little fruit."

To Voltaire the king wrote: "If you were still young, I would employ Messrs. Grimm, de la Harpe, and all the cleverest men in Paris to send me your works; but now ——All that Thiriot has mentioned in his literary reports is not worth reading, the admirable translation of Virgil's Georgics [by Delille] excepted. Am I to keep a correspondent in France, to procure for me the Art of Hairdressing, dedicated to Louis XV., or essays on tactics by young officers who cannot spell Vegetius? works on agriculture, the authors of which never saw a plough? shoals of dictionaries, and, lastly, a deluge of wretched compilations, annals, and extracts, the principal object in which seems to be the sale of the paper and ink, and which beyond these are of no value whatever? Look you, this is my reason for dropping this written journal."

"For Heaven's sake," he writes to d'Alembert in 1782, "if your French will produce such trash, do not annoy me with it! Let me depart in peace from this world, without giving me a disgust of it by the absurd drivelling of writers who fancy themselves philosophers, and are nothing but visionaries, fully and firmly believing in their own silly imaginations." And, half a year later, he says: "I have given up every thing in your country that relates to the sciences, excepting the abbé de Lille, the only writer, in my opinion, who is worthy of the age of Louis XIV."

I cannot refrain from noticing a particular letter, which, in April, 1776, was copied from German into French journals, and which produced an angry expostulation from d'Alembert. Whoever is acquainted with Frederick's characteristic style, and considers the caustic tone in which he expresses himself in the passages just

quoted respecting the French and their literature, might safely swear that this letter, though not acknowledged by the king, is genuine, and that, though not sent to d'Alembert, to whom it purports to be addressed, it was nevertheless made public for good reasons. From the mention made in it of the reform of justice, commenced on the 4th and finished on the 15th of January, and of the fourteen attacks of the gout, it must have been written between the 15th of January and the 13th of February, for, on the latter day, the king writes to Voltaire that he had had another violent fit of gout. The letter in question is as follows: "For this time, my dear friend, I may bless my stars; and, if you love me, you have reason to rejoice that I have happily escaped death. The gout has made fourteen vigorous attacks, and it required all my strength and fortitude to withstand them. At length I live again for myself, for my people, for my friends, and also in some degree for the sciences; but I must tell you that the wretched trash you have sent me has absolutely disgusted me with reading. I am old, and now take no pleasure in frivolous things. I like what is solid, and, if I could grow young again, I would forswear the French, and join the ranks of the English and the Germans. I have seen a great deal, my dear d'Alembert; I have lived long enough to see the pope's troops wear my uniform, the Jesuits choose me for their general, and Voltaire write like an old woman. I have little new to tell you. As a philosopher, you do not trouble yourself about politics; and my Academy is too stupid to furnish you with any thing of interest. I have just declared a new war against law abuses, and should be prouder than Perseus if I could

destroy the quirks of that hundred-headed monster.—You have a very good king, and I congratulate you upon it with all my heart. A wise and virtuous king is more formidable than a prince who has nothing but courage. I hope to see you here next spring."

If these unreserved animadversions are sufficient to exculpate Frederick from the charge of inordinate fondness for the French and their literature, he has left on the other hand an unequivocal monument of the zeal and interest which he felt for the literary honour of his countrymen. During his stay at Breslau in November, 1778, he took pleasure in conversing with some of the literati of that city, and, on one of these occasions, he asserted that an author like Tacitus might be translated into French with greater brevity, precision, and harmony, than into German. Hertzberg, the minister, undertook to show the king that he was wrong, and with this view he sent to him the 37th and 44th chapters of the "Germania" in three columns, the first containing the original, the second the French, and the third the German translation. In reference to the latter, Frederick observed that, "in Tacitus, it is not his description of the manners of the Germans that is so difficult to render, but his concise, nervous style, by means of which he frequently delineates an entire character in a few words, for instance that of Tiberius and of Claudius. It is this laconic and at the same time picturesque style, which often expresses so many ideas in few words, that our writers ought to imitate—few words and a great deal of meaning."

Hertzberg continued to uphold the honour of the Germans, and in January, 1780, he read to the Academy

a dissertation, in which he adduced evidence to prove that the north of ancient Germany, between the Rhine and the Vistula, and the present Prussian monarchy in particular, were the primitive seat of those heroic nations which overthrew the Roman empire and founded the principal states of modern Europe. The minister had an opportunity of advancing the same position at the royal table, on which Frederick complacently replied he was glad that he was a king of the vigorous and valiant Germans.

By these discussions the active mind of Frederick was led to the composition of an essay "On German Literature, its defects, and the means of its improvement," which, in November, 1780, he read to Hertzberg, whom he invited to Sans-Souci for the purpose. He desired him to get it printed, and translated into German. The minister objected to some passages as too severe; but the king would not listen to any representations, and merely wrote on the margin of his last remonstrance: "I cannot make any more alterations in these bagatelles." Professor Thiebault was selected to superintend the printing of the original, while Dohm translated it into German.

Such was the origin of a performance truly remarkable on more than one account. If it proves on the one hand the patriotic sentiments of the illustrious writer, it shows on the other an almost incredible ignorance of the subject which he undertook to discuss. Not only was he unacquainted with the works of Klopstock, Wieland, Herder, Abbt, but it is a fact that he knew not one of those distinguished poets of Prussia itself, whose genius had caught inspiration from his

own glorious achievements — Gleim, Ramler, Kleist, Lessing, Karsch. Owing to this ignorance, he could thus write to d'Alembert, when sending his Essay to him: "We have no good writers whatever; but perhaps they will arise when I am walking in the Elysian fields..... You will laugh at me for the pains I have taken to impart some notions of taste and attic salt to a nation which has hitherto known nothing but how to eat, drink, and fight. Still one would fain be useful, and a word sown in fertile soil often produces fruit beyond expectation."

In the Essay itself he says: "You will perhaps be surprised that I do not join you in the praise of German literature, which, in your opinion, is making daily advances. I love our common country as dearly as you do, and therefore I take care not to praise it before it deserves praise. It would be something like proclaiming a race-horse winner while he is yet running. I wait till he has reached the goal, and then my praise is true and sincere." Adverting in another place to the impediments to the formation of a national literature, he says: "In Italy, England, and France, authors have all written in the mother-tongue. Knowledge was consequently diffused throughout the whole nation. With us the case was totally different. Our first-rate scholars were men, who loaded their memory with a great many things, pedants without discernment, dull revivers of obscure phrases, picked up in old authors. They wrote to show off their fine Latin, and, to be admired by foreign pedants, nothing but Latin, so that their works were lost for nearly all Germany. Hence arose two evils: in the first place, the German language was not

cultivated, but remained covered with its ancient rust; in the second, the great mass of the nation, which did not understand Latin, languished, from want of instruction and ignorance of the dead language, in the profoundest darkness. Such were the obstacles that prevented us from advancing so soon as our neighbours. But those who come last sometimes outstrip those who are before them. This may be the case with us sooner than is imagined, if sovereigns have a taste for the sciences, if they encourage the cultivators of them, if they praise and reward the most deserving. When we have Medici, genius will be seen shooting up. Augustuses make Virgils. We shall some time have our classic writers; every one will read in order to profit by them; our neighbours will learn German; they will be fond of speaking it at courts, and it may be that our language, when improved, refined, and polished, will, through the favour bestowed on our best writers, spread from one end of Europe to the other. These palmy days of our literature have not yet arrived; but they are not far distant. I announce them to you; they will soon be here; I shall not live to see them; at my age, I dare not hope it. I am like Moses; I behold the land of promise from afar, but shall not enter it. Excuse the comparison; I have no wish to depreciate Moses, or to place myself on a level with him; but as for the bright days of our literature to which we look forward, they are dearer to me than the bare parched rocks of barren Idumæa."

This, it must be confessed, is not the language of a man dead to the literary interests of Germany. And though the golden days of the literature of that country

had, unknown to the illustrious writer, already dawned before he composed that Essay, it is impossible for any one to forbear admiring his sagacity, who knows how completely his patriotic prediction has since been fulfilled.

Frederick did far less for the encouragement of universities and schools than might have been expected from so warm a friend to education and the sciences. In this extensive department, no essential melioration took place during his reign, much as it was needed. Many salutary ordinances were issued, but, for carrying them into effect, means were wanting. The slender revenue was applied in preference to the nourishment and support of the body of the State: to the cultivation of wastes; to the settling of colonists from foreign countries; to the encouragement of fabrics, manufactures, and commerce; lastly, to the feeding of the treasury, which at that time was deemed absolutely indispensable. For public instruction on a large scale, the requisite funds could not be afforded, clearly as the king perceived its defects and gladly as he would have remedied them, if that could have been done by good wishes and suitable ordinances, without any expenditure of money. In Frederick's time, Halle was the most important university in the kingdom; and yet, from the year 1730 till the end of his reign, its annual allowance was no more than 7000 dollars. Wolf, the philologist, accepted a professorship there, at the persuasion of Zedlitz, with a salary of 300 dollars (£50); and Reinhold Forster, who returned from England to become professor of natural philosophy, complained to the minister just mentioned that in Prussia scholars were fed like canary-birds and worked like asses.

In 1749, a quarrel between an ensign Sydow and a student of Halle occasioned a tumult, that disturbed the town for eight days, and terminated in bloodshed and the emigration of the students. In consequence of these riots, students who were commoners were forbidden to wear swords, and it was enjoined that better discipline should be maintained in the universities. Piqued at what they considered as an abridgment of their privileges, the members of the university carried knotty sticks surrounded with crape, in token of mourning for their lost liberty, or buckled up their books and papers in leathern thongs and slung them at their backs, to show that the sons of the Muses were degraded into schoolboys. Since that time, however, the inconvenient fashion of wearing a sword began to fall into disuse at other universities, where it had been introduced when the nobility began to apply themselves to the study of the sciences, and wore a sword as a mark of distinction, which was imitated by the commoners.

When Frederick was at Halle, in 1754, he desired professor Meyer to hold lectures on Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding. The course was actually held, but attended by no more than four regular auditors, one of whom was Zedlitz, afterwards minister. In 1782, says Preuss, a minister of justice still living was the only hearer of the celebrated Semler's lectures on ecclesiastical history.

That the king was duly impressed with the importance of the subject of public instruction is evident from many passages in his letters and other works.—In September, 1772, he writes to d'Alembert: "Attention to education is an essential point, which princes ought not

to neglect, and which I extend even to my provincial schools. These are the hobbies of my old age, and I withdraw myself in some measure from the noble profession on which M. de Guibert gives such eloquent instruction." Three weeks later, in a letter to the same friend, he says: "The more one advances in age, the more one is convinced of the harm done to society by the neglected education of youth. I strive in every way to prevent this mischief, and am reforming the universities, the gymnasiums, and even the provincial schools. But it takes thirty years before one sees the fruit; I shall not reap it: but I shall rejoice in having procured my country this benefit, which it is still without."—"The education of youth," says Frederick, in another place, "must be considered as one of the principal objects of a government: it has an influence upon every thing:" and to this object he dedicated his admirable Essay on Education.

I shall conclude this chapter with a slight glance at the state of the drama in Prussia, during the latter half of Frederick's reign.

The French company of comedians, whom the king engaged in 1740, were at first in high favour. They performed in the elector's saloon in the palace, or in the green garden-theatre at Monbijou, where Voltaire played in the king's presence the part of Cicero in Catiline and Orosmane in Zaire. In 1775, the celebrated le Kain, whom the king engaged for some weeks, performed in a series of characters; but neither he nor Aufrène could gain the admiration of the monarch. In the same year, however, Frederick employed Boumann to erect a new theatre for the French company, in the

middle of the market of the gens-d'armes. This house, which bore the inscription, RIDENTUR ET CORRIGUNTUR MORES, and had accommodation for 1200 spectators, was opened in April, 1776, but was much injured by the German theatre. Baron Arnim, the director, proposed to attract spectators by pantomimes, but Frederick said, "No, I cannot sanction pantomimes; there is too much scenic exhibition in Berlin already, and more than is necessary for rational amusement." When, soon afterwards, on the breaking out of the Bavarian succession war, the baron solicited an increased allowance for the French theatre, the king immediately replied: "The present circumstances are preparing graver scenes; one can well dispense with comic ones, and so I strike off the salaries and pensions of all the actors and actresses of my French theatre." Such was the end of that company.

The Italian opera was still continued without interruption. Its performances were gratuitous, and confined to the season of the carnival and the birthdays of some of the members of the royal family. The king, on entering the house, was received with the military tones of trumpets and kettle-drums: he took his place, among his generals and officers, in the front of the pit, half of which was filled with private soldiers belonging to all the regiments of the garrison; and, leaning at times against the partition between the pit and the orchestra, he was accustomed to look at the notes lying before the director of the band. The king clapped, but he alone, to express his approbation of the orchestra, or of a singer—for example, Mara, in the latter years of his life.

The eminent vocalist just mentioned, born in 1749, at Cassel, was the daughter of the town-musician, named Schmeling.' As a child, only nine years old, she excited universal astonishment by her performance on the violin, and gave concerts in Frankfurt on the Mayn, Vienna, and London. Here she was instructed in singing by Paradisi, and afterwards by Hiller of Leipzig, and acquired great celebrity as a vocalist, and also as a performer on the harpsichord. Frederick heard of her, would not believe that a German organ could execute any thing tolerable, and sent for her to Berlin, in 1770. He put into her hand the bravura, *Mi paventi*, in Graun's opera Britanico; and as she sang it from the notes without hesitation, he cried, "Bravo!" and engaged her at a salary of 3000 dollars. In Berlin she married Mara, a performer on the violoncello, a dissolute fellow, who not only squandered this salary, but the many thousands of pounds which she received at a later period in London. For some years she resided in Moscow, where, on the death of her husband, from whom she had been long parted, she is said to have married her companion, Florio. By the conflagration of Moscow in 1812, her house was destroyed, with all she possessed. She then removed to Reval, where she supported herself by teaching, and died in 1833, at the age of 84.

We have seen that, during the reign of Frederick William I., there was nothing like a German theatre either in Berlin or in any part of the Prussian dominions. This cannot appear surprising, when it is known how inveterate were the prejudices entertained against actors, even after Frederick's accession. In 1743, Peter

Hülfferding, who had a license to play with his company all over the kingdom, complained to the regency, that not only were some of the clergy of Königsberg in the habit of denouncing his dramatic exhibitions in the severest terms from the pulpit, but that four of them had, in spite of his most earnest solicitations, refused to visit and to administer the sacrament to a deceased actor on his death-bed; nay, he was even apprehensive that he would be denied the rites of christian burial. The authorities, in consequence, took upon themselves the arrangements for the funeral, and directed what music should be performed on the occasion.

At this time, in fact, none but itinerant companies of German comedians existed in the Prussian dominions. One of these, under the management of Schönemann, which, in 1742, came, for the first time, by special royal command, from Breslau to Berlin, displayed superior taste and talent in its performances, and represented pieces by native writers, Schlegel, Gottsched, Quistorp, Gellert, and Krüger, as well as translations from Corneille, Molière, and Voltaire. To this company then belonged Ekhof, who, without models, and solely by the study of truth and nature, became, in spite of personal defects and a treacherous memory, the admiration of all Germany, both as a tragic and comic actor. The representations were given in the town-hall, for the use of which Schönemann had to pay.

The drama, likewise, brought to the capital Francis Schuch, who opened a booth, like those seen at our fairs, in the gens-d'armes market, in 1754, with "the Earl of Essex," from the English of Banks. The performances of Schuch's company were well frequented. The stage

derived at this time a powerful support from the patriotic efforts of enlightened writers for the improvement of the German drama; and in 1756, Lessing, Mendelssohn, and Nicolai, the bookseller, set apart the profits arising from their periodical work, entitled, *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*, for a prize for the best tragedy. The new impulse thus given to the drama produced a corresponding solicitude in those who had to personify its creations for the improvement of their art. Schuch died in 1763, and in the following year his son built the first German theatre in Berlin, which was capable of accommodating 800 spectators, and where he represented pieces by Lessing, Weisse, and Schlegel.

It was not till 1771 that the first privilege for a permanent theatre in Berlin was obtained by Koch, who, by the production of Lessing's masterpieces and the classic works of foreigners upon the stage, zealously contributed to the advancement of the dramatic art. In 1772, he solicited for his company the designation of *Hofschauspieler*—actors to the court, or to the king. Frederick replied, that, "though his majesty had an objection to grant Koch's company the character applied for, still, in consideration of their extraordinary professional talents, he wished some other suitable designation to be devised and proposed, which might not only serve for a distinction from all other comedians, but as an encouragement to them to cultivate their talents still further, and to do honour to the German theatre." Massow, the minister, proposed several titles, but Koch declined them all, as not having an express reference to his company.

Under Koch's successor, Döbbelin, the German the-

atre continued to prosper. The king, seeing that, while the national drama was warmly patronized by the public, the French house was deserted, censured what appeared to him the bad taste of the people of Berlin; nor was he the only one who was displeased with the new productions of the German school. Sulzer, who was otherwise adverse to every thing French, writes, in 1774, to Bodmer: "Report says, that Dr. Göthe of Frankfurt is here, to see the representations of his Götz and his Clavigo at the theatre. I have seen the first, but I could not stay to the end of that confused and confusing piece."

It will amuse the reader to see what the king himself thought of this very piece, and likewise his opinion of the productions of our unrivalled Shakspeare. "If any one would convince himself what a want of taste has prevailed up to the present day in Germany, let him only go to the public theatres. There he will see them performing the abominable plays of Shakspeare, which have been translated into our language, and the whole assembly taking the utmost delight in these ridiculous farces, which are only fit for the savages in Canada: so I call them, because they sin against all the rules of the drama; and these rules are not arbitrary; they are established on a solid basis by Aristotle in his Art of Poetry. He prescribes unity of place, unity of time, and unity of action, as the only means of producing an interesting tragedy. In those English plays the action frequently occupies several years. What becomes of probability! At one moment, working men and gravediggers come forward and speak in character; in the next, princes and queens. How can this strange medley

of the low and the lofty, of the burlesque and the tragic, touch and please! Shakspeare certainly deserves pardon for these extravagances, as at his time the art had only just begun to germinate: but there has just appeared a Götz von Berlichingen, a detestable imitation of those wretched English plays; it is brought out on the stage; the audience applauds, and calls with enthusiasm for a repetition of this disgusting trash. I am well aware that there is no disputing about taste; still, I must be permitted to say, that people who take as much pleasure in the feats of rope-dancers and in puppet-shows would rather have their eyes gratified than their minds, and prefer mere spectacle to that which moves the heart."

When the reader considers that Frederick's taste had been formed exclusively by the pompous inanities of the French drama, he will not be surprised at this harsh condemnation of what we regard as the holy writ of the English stage, and that he should be utterly incapable of appreciating beauties, with which indeed it is very doubtful if he was even acquainted. It is scarcely necessary to add that the Götz von Berlichingen, on which the like sweeping censure is passed, was the play by a translation of which Walter Scott first introduced his name to the notice of the British public.

If, however, the king did not encourage the German theatre, he left it full scope in the choice of plays for representation. For his birthday, in 1777, lieutenant Bonin, of the gensd'armes, wrote an after-piece, intitled "The Patriot," in which the sovereign himself was called plain Fritz, and sergeant-major Adriani, of the king's life-guard, was brought upon the stage, but by the name

of Richter, in full uniform. Colonel Scheel, commander of the battalion of the grenadier guard, took particular offence at this use of the popular designation of his majesty; and Adriani was incensed with the manager for his audacity in exhibiting a living picture of himself on the boards; but in this matter the manager had the king entirely on his side, and continued to perform The Patriot, which soon became a great favourite with the public, and whatever else he thought proper.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Frederick's Person, Dress, Habits—Snuff and Snuff-boxes—Horses—His Popularity—Absence of State and Parade at Sans Souci—Change in his sentiments respecting mankind in the latter part of his life—The Rattles of his old age—His Frugality and Economy—His sentiments concerning Ingratitude—An unworthy Minister—Anecdotes of the King's condescension and goodness of heart—Humorous sallies—Frederick's dislike of flattery and of long names—His literary pursuits—Anecdotes of his presence of mind in danger.

We have seen the picture which Frederick draws of himself towards the conclusion of the seven years' war. The portrait was but too accurate. The toils, the hardships, the privations of a military life, and the cares and anxieties of the mortal struggle, had given him the appearance of age at a time of life when many men retain all the vigour and nearly all the elasticity that they ever possessed. He now began to stoop, and his head to incline to the right side, probably owing to a habit acquired in playing on the flute.

It was at this time, too, that he was never seen in any other than that characteristic dress which might almost be considered as part of the man. Of this dress and of his person Dr. Moore, who it is true, saw him at a much later period, has left a description which, however, will apply to the whole of this portion of his life. "The king of Prussia," says that traveller, "is below the middle size, well made, and remarkably active for his time of life. His look announces spirit and penetration. He has fine blue eyes; and, in my opinion, his countenance upon the whole is agreeable. Some who

have seen him are of a different opinion, all who judge from his portraits only must be so; for, although I have seen many which have a little resemblance to him, and some which have a great deal, yet none of them do him justice. His features acquire a wonderful degree of animation when he converses. He stoops considerably, and inclines his head considerably to one side. His tone of voice is the clearest and most agreeable in conversation I ever heard. He speaks a great deal; yet those who hear him regret that he does not speak a great deal more. His observations are always lively, very often just, and few men possess the talent of repartee in greater perfection. He hardly ever varies his dress, which consists of a blue coat, lined and faced with red, and yellow waistcoat and breeches. He always wears boots with hussar tops, which fall in wrinkles about his ankles, and are oftener of a dark brown than a black colour. His hat would be thought extravagantly large in England, though it is of the size commonly used by the Prussian officers of cavalry. He generally wears one of the large side corners over his forehead and eyes, and the front cock on one side. He wears his hair cued behind, and dressed with a single buckle on each side. From its being very carelessly put up and unequally powdered, we may naturally conclude that the *friseur* has been greatly hurried in the execution of his office. He uses a very large gold snuff-box, the lid ornamented with diamonds, and takes an immoderate quantity of Spanish snuff, the marks of which often appear on his waistcoat and breeches. These are also liable to be soiled by the paws of two or three greyhounds, which he often caresses."

The only deviation which the king made from the dress here described was on days of high ceremony, when he wore a uniform of embroidered velvet; and, in the presence of illustrious foreigners, he was accustomed to add one of the three foreign orders which had been conferred upon him. These were the Polish order of the White Eagle, the Swedish of the Seraphim, and the Russian order of St. Andrew, sent to him by the empress Elisabeth, and set with diamonds worth 30,000 rubles. In 1787, when Finkenstein and Hertzberg were about to send back these decorations, the diamonds belonging to the latter were missing.

The front of false hair, worn by the king till the end of his life, was black and powdered, except in time of mourning, when it was without powder, notwithstanding the strong contrast formed by the gray natural hair which peeped forth from beneath it. His habits, views, and sentiments, had also undergone considerable change during the war. He had relinquished supper, a meal which in earlier life he had particularly enjoyed; but his concerts were still kept up, though from the loss of his front teeth he played with less facility than formerly on his favourite instrument. Dr. Burney, who visited Prussia in 1772, and whose judgment cannot be questioned, has thus described his execution on the flute: "His majesty's *embouchure* was clear and even, his finger brilliant, and his taste pure and simple. I was much pleased and even surprised with the neatness of his execution in the allegros, as well as by his expression and feeling in the adagio: in short, his performance surpassed in many particulars any thing I had ever heard among dilettanti, and even professors. His majesty

played three long and difficult concertos successively, and all with equal perfection."

Those who had the honour of being selected for his ordinary associates, but had, perhaps, no invitation to these musical entertainments, came as soon as they were over for the purpose of conversing. Among them were not only distinguished generals, but also men of talents belonging to other professions, both Protestants and Catholics. The conversation was often extremely lively, witty, and more than humorous; for, bashful as Frederick was in regard to his person, he was very free in his language, especially at table, where he imposed no restraint on himself, and called every thing by its proper name. At half past nine, supper was served for his visiters: it lasted not much more than half an hour. In later years, as the circle of old friends decreased, these evening parties lost much of their charm.

The precise time when Frederick began to take snuff is not known. So early as 1743, he commissioned baron Chambrier, his ambassador in Paris, to procure for him Spanish snuff of the same sort that the queen of Spain used. In the sequel, his fondness for this snuff, of which he always kept a large stock, occasioned his chief expense. He always carried two rich snuff-boxes in his pockets, and five or six lay filled upon the tables; altogether he had above a hundred. The plainest of these boxes cost not less than 2000 dollars, and the richest not more than 10,000. At his death there were found 130, while the rest of his jewelry consisted of only two watches and a very small number of rings. The value of the trinkets of this kind left by the king has been falsely estimated at four or five million dollars. Now

it is known that, out of his fixed allowance of 1,200,000 dollars, he never spent more for himself and his establishment than 222,000 per year; and, if we compute all the boxes which he left at the very highest rate, the amount will not reach a million and a half. Probably they had not cost half that sum.

Frederick never rode any but English horses; they were tall, strong, but by no means of pure blood. After the first trial, he gave them a name, after which none durst mount them but the grooms who took them out for exercise, and rode without saddle. The king never wore spurs: by way of chastising or stimulating the animal, he struck it with his stick between the ears. He had in general from 40 to 60 saddle-horses, and, in the year 1754, above 100; the choicest of these accompanied him to the field, and he sent for others as he wanted them. Fearlessly as he exposed his own person on all occasions, it is not surprising that, as we have seen, many of his horses should have been killed and wounded: one of them, a bay, named, I presume from his swiftness, The Bird, was wounded seven times during the seven years' war. After the battle of Kunersdorf, the Little Gray was well known in the army. The two Cossack horses which general Czernitschef presented to the king in 1762, he frequently rode about that time to the delight of the Cossacks; but a very handsome animal, which bore the name of Lord Bute, was doomed to draw orange-trees with the mules when that minister deserted the cause of Prussia. Cæsar, a roan, bought in 1760, shared in the perils of Burkersdorf and Reichenbach; the king was very fond of this horse, which, when old, stood in his stall without halter, and was allowed to

stroll at will about the pleasure-grounds at Potsdam. So well did this animal know the king, that he always expressed great delight when his majesty came from Sans Souci to the parade at Potsdam, and Frederick frequently cut short the business of the parade when Cæsar was in the way. He died of apoplexy in the pleasure grounds at Potsdam, and was buried on the spot where he fell.

But Condé, a piebald gelding, appears to have gained the king's favour in a higher degree than any of his horses by his extraordinary qualities. At the first trial of him, in the spring of 1777, the king was so pleased with the noble animal, that, on dismounting, he named him, and expressly desired that particular care should be taken of him. He was immediately conducted to Sans Souci, and thenceforward was one of the ten horses usually kept there. The king conceived a gradually increasing fondness for him; by his desire Condé was brought out to him almost every day, and he fed him with sugar, melons, and figs. So well did the animal know his benefactor, that, the moment he was at liberty, he would run up to his master in expectation of the usual delicacies; he would even follow him into the palace, and once broke several squares of marble in the pavement of the hall. For this horse Frederick had two sets of furniture made of blue velvet richly embroidered with silver; and he never rode him but to the town or for an airing. The Potsdam autumn manœuvres were Condé's hardest service. The king left him at home in the Bavarian succession war; and Count Schwerin, master of the horse, was charged to pay particular attention to him, and to report about him to the king from time

to time. On his return from the field, the king's first inquiry was after Condé, who, indeed, fully deserved this extraordinary preference. He was a handsome animal, absolutely free from vice, perfectly docile, afraid of nothing, and not at all affected by the loudest report of artillery: at the same time he was remarkably lively and good-tempered. After the king's death, Condé was placed in the royal stud at Neustadt on the Dosse, but afterwards transferred to the Veterinary School in Berlin, with a charge that particular care should be taken of him. He died in 1804, at the age of 38 years. His skeleton is preserved at the Veterinary School, as is also his skin stuffed, to which a head carved in wood from the life has been fitted.

Whenever Frederick rode into the town, it was always a joyous event for the people. The inhabitants thronged to their doors and bowed respectfully, and he returned their salutations by taking off his hat. Many walked along on each side of him, that they might have a longer and better view of the old king. A great number of boys always ran before and beside him; they greeted the father of the country with shouts, flung their caps into the air, wiped the dust from his boots, and played all sorts of pranks. Frederick never disturbed the urchins in their joy; only, when they went too far, and teazed his horse and made him shy, he would rap out a few sharp threats, and ride quietly forward. It is related that one day, when the young troop were too annoying, he lifted his crutch-stick, and, shaking it at them, bade them begone to school, which drew a peal of laughter from the saucy rogues, one of whom

cried out: "A pretty king indeed! why, he does not know that Wednesday is a half holiday!"

In like manner, the higher classes, who had admittance to the opera, thronged to see him when he entered the theatre. "My heart always throbs," says an eye-witness, "when the trumpets and kettle-drums proclaim his entrance; the people almost crush one another to see him, and the old soldiers below have eyes for nothing else."

The new palace of Sans-Souci, which the king built after the seven years' war, he inhabited at first for a few summers; but, taking a dislike to it for a residence, he afterwards went thither only when he had visiters, for whom the old palace was too small, and returned to the latter as soon as they were gone. Frederick occupied only one half of this beautiful summer-abode — three rooms, an alcove, and library. The other half was reserved for princes, generals, and ministers who were invited or summoned thither. As the two halls of Sans-Souci were not spacious enough for dining-rooms at the time of the reviews, the contiguous orangery was turned into halls and chambers.

When the king was at Sans-Souci, a subaltern and six grenadiers of the life-guard came every evening from Potsdam to do duty during the night, but returned to town at the reveille. Zimmermann, in his well-known work "On Solitude," has eloquently adverted to the feeling of personal security manifested by the great king. "At Sans-Souci, where that old god of war forges his thunderbolts, and his mind produces works for posterity; where he rules his people as the best of fathers governs his family; where, during one-half of

the day he reads the petitions and the complaints of the meanest citizen and peasant, and is continually dispensing vast sums for the relief of his subjects, without expecting to be repaid, without any other object than the general welfare; and where, during the other half, he is the poet and the philosopher—there reigns, far and wide, a silence so profound that you may hear the slightest breath of every gentle breeze. I ascended this hill for the first time in the twilight of a winter evening. When I beheld before me the small habitation of this convulser of the world, and was near his apartment, I saw a light, it is true, but no sentry before the door of the hero, not a creature to ask me who I was and what I wanted. I saw nothing, and walked free and joyous past that small and silent dwelling." In 1785, count Wartensleben, then ensign, went one evening with a page of the king's to Sans-Souci; and there, in the second room, he saw, through the door which stood ajar, Frederick slumbering on a couch, with no other attendant but a sleeping valet. Compare the anxious precautions which the great of the earth in general deem necessary for their safety with that implicit confidence which Frederick, as the father of his country, reposed in the affection of his people.

We know with what zest Frederick entered in early life into the pleasures and pursuits of his young associates. Even after his accession to the throne, we have found him cherishing the same warm and kindly feelings which he thus expressed in a letter to Jordan, in 1742—"All I wish is that I may not be spoiled by prosperity. I hope my friends will always find me the same that I have been; sometimes more engaged, fuller of care, un-

easy, but ever ready to prove that I love them with all my heart, and that I am rather their brother, their friend, their fellow-citizen, than their sovereign." Advancing years and increased experience threw a gloom over his view of men and things. "I have met," he says, "with so much perfidy, baseness, and ingratitude, that it would be very pardonable if I were to cease to believe in virtue; but my lord Marischal has revived that belief in me, and this soothes me." The same sentiment he has elsewhere expressed in these terms—"He who imagines that all men are devils, and wreaks his rage upon them without mercy, has the visions of a savage misanthropist; he who regards them all as angels, and suffers them to do what they please, dreams like a weak-headed Capuchin. But he who believes that they are neither all good nor all bad, who rewards good actions above their deserts, and punishes evil ones below them, who shows indulgence to frailties and humanity to every one—he acts as a rational man is sure to act."

This practical view of things seems to have undergone a considerable change in the later period of life. When, in Frederick's conversation with Sulzer, he inquired how the schools under his direction were going on, and the professor replied that, since the adoption of Rousseau's principle, that man is naturally well-disposed, they had begun to go on better, the king exclaimed—"Ah, my dear Sulzer, you are not sufficiently acquainted with the cursed race to which we belong!" This unfavourable view of mankind may be in part attributable to the natural disposition of the mind, in declining years and under the infirmities of age, to look at the dark side of things: though it must be confessed that the black

ingratitude, dishonesty, nay, even treason, of many who had been objects of his especial favour, might almost excuse so severe an opinion. Towards the end of the king's reign, indeed, men who had previously enjoyed his entire confidence experienced the effects of ill-humour or mistrust. Hence, when count Görtz, the Prussian ambassador in Petersburg, who received many a despatch couched in terms of caustic but undeserved severity, complained on the subject to Hertzberg, the latter replied—"Your excellency would be pacified if you were to read the answers which I receive to every thing that I propose with the best intention, and that is frequently adopted a few days afterwards."

But frail as the tenement of that great soul began to be—and to this cause must, no doubt, be ascribed much of the suspicion and ill-humour now shown by the king, as well in public affairs as in private intercourse, and his altered views of the world and of mankind—still he led the same active life as ever, and laboured with the same indefatigable perseverance for the welfare of his subjects. He writes to Voltaire, in 1773—"I have now been back above a month from my tours. I was in Prussia to abolish villanage, to repeal barbarous laws, to institute more rational ones in their stead, to open a canal to connect the Vistula, the Netze, the Warthe, the Oder, and the Elbe, to rebuild towns which have been deserted ever since the plague in 1709, to drain marshes one hundred miles long, and to establish a police, the very name of which was unknown there. I then went to Silesia, and cheered my poor Ignatians* under the severity of the court of Rome, gave new

* The Jesuits, whose founder was Ignatius Loyola.

strength to their order, and divided them into several provinces. In this manner, I render them serviceable to the state, as I require their schools to apply themselves to the instruction of youth, to which they will now be entirely devoted. I have, moreover, made arrangements for the erection of sixty villages, each to contain twenty families, in Upper Silesia, on land hitherto uncultivated; caused roads for the promotion of trade to be carried through the mountains; and ordered two villages there, which have been burned down, to be rebuilt of brick and stone, instead of the wooden houses which they had before."

In 1775 he writes to the same correspondent—"I am infinitely obliged to you for the seeds which you have sent me. Would any one suppose that our letters related to the science of Triptolemus, and that the question which of us two cultivated his land in the best manner was mooted in them! That science, however, is the first of all, and without it there would be no traders, no courtiers, no kings, poets, and philosophers. The produce of the soil alone constitutes true wealth. He who improves his land brings into cultivation that which is waste, and drains marshes, makes conquests from barbarism, and affords subsistence to colonists. These being then enabled to marry, contribute cheerfully to the propagation of their kind, and augment the number of industrious citizens.

"We have imitated here the artificial pastures of the English, and have succeeded very well with them, so that we keep one-third more cattle. Their plough and their sowing-machine have not answered so well: our soil is mostly too light for the former, and the latter is

too dear for the common peasant and the farmer. On the other hand, we have managed to rear rhubarb in our gardens. It retains all its properties, and may be used in the same manner as the oriental. We have raised this year 10,000 pounds of silk, and increased the number of beehives one-third.

"These are the rattles of my old age: for the mind is capable of enjoying such pleasures even after the imagination is extinct."

Again in 1777 the king writes: "I am just returned from Silesia, where I have been much pleased. Agriculture is making perceptible progress there, and manufactures are thriving. We have sold five million dollars' worth of linen, and 1,200,000 of woollen cloth to foreigners. There has been discovered in the mountains a mine of cobalt, by which all Silesia will be supplied with that material; we make vitriol, which is as good as the foreign; and a very ingenious man produces indigo, which is not inferior to that of India. Iron is converted advantageously into steel, and by a much simpler process than that proposed by Reaumur. Our population has increased about 180,000 souls since the year 1756. In short, all the plagues which ruined this poor country may be said to exist no longer: and, to confess the truth, it affords me peculiar gratification to have raised again to prosperity a province which was so deeply depressed."

Such were the pleasures, such the occupations, which Frederick calls "the rattles of his age."

Frederick considered himself as merely the steward of the property of his subjects. He knew what toil it costs the poor to pay their proportion of the taxes,

while these are often so recklessly squandered. Frugality therefore was in him a distinguished virtue, and he was frequently recommending principles of economy to others.

A country clergyman, in the simplicity of his heart, once solicited from the king an order that his congregation should supply him with forage for a horse, because he was obliged to walk* to do duty at a chapel in a distant part of his parish, which was extremely fatiguing to him. Underneath his petition Frederick wrote: "The Bible does not say *ride* into all the world, but *go** into all the world and preach to all nations."

The envoys or plenipotentiaries whom Frederick kept at foreign courts had very moderate salaries. He recommended to them "not to spare the soup," meaning that they should give frequent dinners, "but," said baron Haman, who had been his minister at Paris and the Hague, "he does not give enough to make it good." In fact, he allowed only six thousand rix-dollars to his ambassadors in Paris, London, Vienna, and Petersburg. The others had only four thousand. "He proposed in my time," says Thiébault, "to send baron Knyphausen to Vienna. He refused the appointment, saying: 'I have had the honour, sire, of serving you in Paris and in London: during the first of these missions I was forced to sell one of my estates, and another during the second; I have now left but one of the three that formed my patrimony; permit me to retain that. Your majesty will find plenty of persons to represent you at Vienna, while spending no more than six

* The German verb *gehen*, to go, implies that the mode of going is on foot.

thousand rix-dollars: but I have not learned that secret. Either I should serve you ill, or I should ruin myself.'—'Well, then,' replied the king, who was aware of Knyphausen's merit, 'consider what you would like to be, for I cannot leave you unemployed; tell me what you think would suit you.' The baron would not ask for the post of minister: he solicited only the appointment of director-general of commerce, which was given to him. Knyphausen's example was followed by others, and so general became the desire to avoid the brilliant and honourable posts of ministers to other courts that the king was sometimes obliged to have recourse to foreigners."

Ingratitude was an abomination to the king. "It is," said he, "the blackest, the most horrible, the most heinous of all vices. The ungrateful person who has no sense of benefits conferred commits high-treason against human society, for he spoils, poisons, and utterly destroys the sweets of friendship. He is sensible of injuries but not of services rendered, and carries perfidy to the highest pitch, since he repays good with evil. A spirit so degenerate, so debased below humanity, acts contrary to its own advantage; for there is not an individual, however exalted, who, since he is by nature weak, can do without his fellow-men; and an ungrateful wretch who is thrust out by society renders himself unworthy of ever having new benefits conferred upon him. One ought to be incessantly crying out to men: 'Be kind and humane, because ye are weak and have need of assistance; be just towards others, that ye may have a right on your part to the protection of the law against injury from others, or what comes to the same point:

Do not unto others what ye would not that they should do unto you.'"

From this sentiment of gratitude proceeded the king's affection for his parents, and especially for his mother: he delighted to see others follow the same natural impulse of the heart, as I shall have occasion to shew presently in treating of his household; and there are not wanting proofs how abhorrent to his feelings was the violation of filial duty. Here is one of them:

In one of the districts of Brandenburg, the post of provincial councillor became vacant. The choice fell unanimously upon a gentleman of landed property; and it was submitted to the king for his confirmation. The report presented at the same time contained many encomiums on the person who had been selected. The cabinet-councillor, when reading it to the king, observed him assume a stern and thoughtful look. "Your majesty must certainly know the family," said he; "it has produced many meritorious men."—"Then I am sorry," replied Frederick, "that just this one should be an exception: I shall not confirm the choice. Hark you, this man was for a long time at law with his own mother: and when she was dangerously ill, he insisted on her taking an oath upon her sick bed. To a man with such a heart I cannot entrust the welfare of my subjects."

There is only one instance during his whole long reign in which Frederick appointed an absolutely unworthy person to the post of minister. This was Görne, who was descended from a noble family in the margravate of Brandenburg, and whose father had won esteem as minister of finance to Frederick William I. Having acquired large property by marriage, he re-

signed the post of councillor to the Chamber of Breslau. In 1774, to the general astonishment, he was appointed minister of finance. It was not known till after his fall to what means he owed his elevation, and how scandalously the king had been deceived.

Görne was a man of very weak understanding, and of great, often childish, vanity. He bought extensive lordships in Poland, where he lived in princely splendour, was naturalised, and is said to have really fed himself with the idea of becoming king of Poland, in case of the deposition or death of Stanislaus Poniatowsky. For his immoderate expenditure and his silly plans he needed a great deal of money, and this he procured by means of the Commercial Company, with the direction of which he was entrusted. Hence arose great defalcations, which he long contrived to conceal. When, however, they were discovered, and Frederick had collected sufficient proofs of the delinquency of his minister, he ordered him to be apprehended in his own house in January, 1782, and his whole administration to be rigorously examined by a commission appointed for the purpose. In the course of this investigation it was discovered that Galster, whom I have had occasion to mention as one of the king's cabinet-councillors, had been bribed by a large sum of money to recommend this wholly unfit person for the office which he had so unworthily held, and that he had contrived to keep his delinquencies for a long time from the knowledge of the sovereign. Görne was convicted of gross peculation, and stripped by a judicial procedure of all honours and dignities. His whole property was sequestrated, and he was sentenced to imprisonment in a fortress for life.

The state lost by him upwards of a million dollars: the king nevertheless relinquished all his property to his private creditors, saying: "It is my own fault for making so bad a choice." Görne was shut up in Spandau till Frederick's death, when he was released by the new king, who granted him a small pension.

We have already seen on various occasions that Frederick was truly a citizen-king. "Whenever I ride out in Berlin," he once observed, "I must almost always have my hat in my hand." Pöllnitz was of opinion that he had no need to notice every one who bowed to him. "Ay, and why not?" exclaimed the king: "they are men just as well as myself."

But with all his condescension, Frederick knew how to maintain the dignity of the sovereign. Soon after his accession to the throne, he was informed that there was still living in Potsdam a very aged invalid who had served under Frederick I. He sent for him, and received him so affably that the veteran gradually grew very chatty, and at length touched a point on which the king was particularly tender. "When your majesty's father was prince-royal," said he, "I once attended him as his orderly. He was going with the Prince of Dessau from Berlin to Potsdam, when they found by the way a herdsman asleep at Zehlendorf, and cut off some of his cows' tails."—"That is not true," cried Frederick harshly, interrupting him with a look of displeasure. Calling a chamber-hussar, he bade him hand the old man a few pieces of gold, and retired. But for his loquacity the poor fellow would probably have obtained a pension.

One day, when the king was taking a ride at Potsdam,

he met the children of the orphan-house with their teachers, who neither took off their hats nor paid any other mark of respect to the sovereign. The king was vexed, and on his return to the palace he sent for General Retzow, who had the chief direction of the institution, acquainted him with the circumstance, and expressed his serious displeasure. Retzow assured his majesty that he would immediately summon the teachers before him, and reprimand them most severely for their rudeness. "That will be very proper," replied the king, "but not sufficient. These fellows shall wear a particular dress in future as a memento of their incivility: it shall consist in a black jacket, with six buttons as big as a hen's egg, a broad white collar hanging over their shoulders, and a high-crowned hat in the form of a sugar-loaf." Retzow durst not urge any objections. As soon as he had returned home he sent for all the teachers, rebuked them in the severest terms for their fault, and acquainted them with the will of the king in regard to their future costume. Filled with dismay, they all sought to excuse themselves, and laid the blame more especially on one of their colleagues who was short-sighted, insisting that it must be he whom the king had particularly noticed: and they begged that this might be represented to his majesty. The general accordingly said to the king that it was probably the short-sighted teacher who had attracted his attention, and who excused himself on account of his defective vision; it might be well, therefore, to spare the others. "No, no," replied Frederick, "I know that man well enough: he is a good fellow, who lifts his hat to every lamp-post. These are mere evasions of those gentlemen; I insist

upon my orders being carried into effect." The consternation of the teachers may easily be conceived. Some of them determined to resign their situations; others had recourse to petition. Urgent representations were again made to the king, and he revoked the order, which he had issued probably only in jest, and to teach the delinquents such a lesson for their disrespectful behaviour as they should not easily forget.

The king was gratified by the homage of the poor, even when it annoyed him. While on a reviewing tour, he had stopped to change horses, when an old woman stepped up close to the carriage. "Well, mother," said Frederick affably, "what do you want?"—"Just to get a sight of you, nothing else."—"I have not time to let you see me any longer now," rejoined the king; "but on those things," handing her some pieces of money, "you may look at me as often and as long as you like."

The kindness of the king's heart always manifested itself in his sympathy with the afflictions of others. One day, riding through some of the more obscure streets of Berlin, he saw a great number of people collected before a house, and learned from his aide-de-camp, whom he sent to inquire what was the matter, that a tiler had fallen from the roof and been killed on the spot; that he was a drummer; that his body had been carried into a neighbouring house; and that his wife was almost distracted, and complaining that she and her children must starve. The king sent word to the woman to call upon him. Several days elapsed, and she did not make her appearance. Nobody thought any longer of her but the king. He was told that for some days past a woman had frequently been seen about the palace, looking up at the

windows. He gave orders that she should be watched for and brought to him. "Why did you not come to me at first?" he inquired. "I was forbidden by the police, because your majesty has too many applications." "The unfortunate have a right to come to me at all hours. That is what I am here for. Would to God that I could relieve them all!" He caused a circumstantial account of her case to be drawn up, sent her a donation, and placed her children in the orphan-house.

Under the parsimonious rule of his father, Frederick had tasted the bitterness of poverty; and perhaps it may be wholesome for a prince that he should have to drink of this cup. Hence, after he became his own master, wherever he met with distress, he sought to afford relief.

One winter, while residing in Berlin, he observed from the windows of the palace, late every night and early every morning, a light in the garret of an opposite house. He directed inquiry to be made who lived there, was informed that it was a poor industrious cobbler, and sent a messenger to fetch the man to him. He entered alarmed and trembling: but the affability of the king soon gave him courage. "Why," asked Frederick, "do you work day after day so late at night and so early in the morning?"—"I am obliged to do so, your majesty. I have four children to provide for, and let me work ever so hard, I can scarcely maintain them. Just now, too, things are going worse with me. I have had leather on credit, and am not able to pay for it: my things will be seized and sold, and I shall be reduced to beggary." "I will see what can be done to prevent that," said the

king, dismissing the poor fellow; and presently afterwards he sent him a donation of 200 dollars.

On another occasion, while in Berlin, the king was riding past a house, about the door of which there was a concourse of people. He sent an officer to inquire the cause of this throng, and learned that the landlord, to whom a poor artisan owed twenty dollars for rent, had seized every thing he had, so that the poor man was turned out of the house with his wife and children utterly destitute, though the lodging was not let. "Go back," said Frederick to the officer, "tell the landlord to put the man in immediate possession of the lodging again. Tell him I command this. Desire him and his lodger to call in a few hours on Köper, the cabinet councillor, when they shall hear further." Both attended accordingly. "I am commissioned by his majesty," said Köper to the landlord, "to pay you the twenty dollars owing by this poor man for rent, and twenty more for the next half-year. The king," he continued, turning to the artisan, "is so gracious as to relieve you from your present distress, and also from the care of providing the next half-year's rent; but he hopes that you will be the more regular and industrious, that you may not get into such difficulties again. You are a husband and a father; it is therefore doubly your duty to be steady, industrious, and frugal; add to which, it now behoves you to show that you are not ungrateful for the king's bounty."

With such sentiments as these, Frederick could not suffer injury to be done to poor people without absolute necessity. One day, as he was leaving the public-house at Möckern, during a review near that village, some of

his retinue were on the point of leaping into a corn-field, which afforded the promise of a rich harvest, because it was the shortest cut to the assembled troops. No sooner did Frederick perceive their intention, than he called out to them in a half-commanding tone: "We must respect the hopes of labouring people." He himself kept the road, which made a considerable circuit, and it is scarcely necessary to add that his attendants followed his example.

In one of his wars, the king was marching into Bohemia, and fixed upon the house of a peasant in a village near the Saxon frontier for his quarters. The things necessary for his accommodation were sent forward, and the king's attendants informed the peasant that their master would sup and sleep at his house. The man immediately posted himself at the door, that he might not lose any part of the magnificent sight which he anticipated. At length, he saw a man in a blue cloak, attended by two officers, alight at the door. The peasant asked him if he was one of the king's people, intimating that in this case he must go to his next door neighbour's. "I am not one of the king's servants," said the stranger, "but he has invited me to sup with him."—"Well, then, sir," replied the peasant, "step into this room, and just brush the dirt off your boots." Several generals and aides-de-camp now arrived. The marked respect paid by them to the stranger puzzled the landlord, who was slinking timidly away, when he was perceived by the stranger, who said to him: "Surely you will stop till the king comes?" The peasant grinned. "I do think," he cried, "that you are making game of me, and that the gentleman is the king himself." Frederick laughed, and went with some of his generals into the room prepared for him. The

peasant, on recovering from his surprise, said to one of the king's lacqueys: "The king of Prussia dresses very shabby. He does not oppress his peasants, I'll be bound."

There is no end to the anecdotes recording the kindliness of feeling displayed by the great king on every occasion in his intercourse with the humblest as well as the highest of his fellow-creatures.

One day the king rode to the porcelain manufactory, and, just as he was about to alight, a little boy, afraid of the horse, ran up the steps before the door, and had the misfortune to fall and break a cup which he had in his hand. The poor fellow cried bitterly. The king, who followed him up the steps, took him kindly by the hand. "Come with me, my dear," said he, "I will give thee another cup." The boy went weeping along with the king, who ordered a cup like his own and a dollar to be given to him. The latter he refused, saying that he must have another such *dreier* [equivalent to our halfpenny] as he had lost, to fetch some treacle for his mother. The king laughed heartily, and sent a person to take the boy home, with half a dozen cups and saucers and a frederic-d'or for the mother.

Heine, organist at the cathedral of Berlin, who has been mentioned as Frederick's first instructor in music, won the esteem of his royal pupil, who bestowed on him various marks of favour. Frederick made his son a receiver of excise; but he was called to account on a charge of embezzlement. The king, on being informed of the circumstance, sent for his father. "How goes it with you, my dear Heine?" said he. "Don't be surprised at my sending for you: I must see my old music-master now and then."—"Far from well, your majesty," replied

the old man, sighing and with sorrowful look. "Such is the way with human life; prosperity and adversity follow closely at the heels of each other. Nobody has experienced this more than myself; but one must not be downhearted. In moments of affliction, the fine arts are a great consolation. You must seek yours in music." Frederick then entered into a conversation with him on the productions of the composers of that time; but Heine could not help showing that just then he felt but little interest in the subject. "I don't wonder at this, my dear Heine," said the king. "Your son has been a great grief to you. He is unfit for any post of trust, that I see clearly: but I will provide for him in such a way that he may remain an honest man." These words removed a heavy weight from the heart of the afflicted father, who could not find language to express his gratitude. "Say nothing," cried Frederick. "I am glad that I can soothe your sorrow. Now go, in the name of God. I hope that your son will never occasion you such grief in future." Heine went from the king to capell-meister Sydow. Intoxicated with joy, he repeated to him the whole conversation, snatched the wig from his head and flung it on the floor, exclaiming, "Such a king the world never yet saw!"

One day, in his walks at Sans Souci, the king observed a Dutch merchant, whom he accosted, asking whether he would not like to see the garden. The merchant, not knowing the king, answered that, being a stranger, he did not know whether such a permission could be obtained when the king was there. "Give yourself no concern about that," replied the other, "I will conduct you." He showed the merchant the most beautiful parts

of the garden, asking his opinion of what he had seen At parting, the merchant took out his purse, for the purpose of making an acknowledgment to his guide. "By no means," said the latter; "we are forbidden to receive presents; and, if the king should hear of it, he would be sure to punish us." The stranger thanked him very politely, and retired under the impression that he was the inspector of the gardens. He had gone but a few steps before he met the gardener, who asked him roughly: "What are you doing here? Yonder is the king?" The Dutchman related what had passed, and highly praised the politeness of the person who had shown him the gardens. "And do you know who it is?" asked the gardener. "Why, it is the king himself!" The astonishment of the stranger may be more easily conceived than described.

A colonist, on whom Frederick had conferred the customary favours—a house, a cow, and other necessaries—was not satisfied, like many others of that class. He went therefore to the king, and told him that he would leave the country with his family and go to some other where he could fare better, conceiving that by this threat he should induce the monarch to give him something more. Frederick replied: "I cannot blame you if you do. If I knew any place where I should be better off than here, I would go too."

We have seen that Frederick, in the earlier part of his life, was not averse to participate even in a practical joke on the clergy, whether Protestant or Catholic, though more instances are recorded of his indulgence in humorous sallies with the latter. To the anecdotes of this kind already given, I shall add the following.

Tobias, abbot of Camentz, whom I have had occasion to mention in a preceding volume, and who was frequently admitted to the king's presence, called on him one day when the weather was very hot. Frederick, being in a jocose humour, asked him how many degrees hotter it was in purgatory. "Your majesty does not believe in purgatory," replied Tobias, "and therefore it would be useless to give you any idea of the heat of it; you would only think that I was telling you a lie." —"I know, my good Tobias," rejoined the king, "that you are incapable of a lie, and therefore you would oblige me by telling me what is the doctrine of your church respecting the heat of purgatory." — "Well, then," answered the abbot, "if your majesty insists on knowing, I must tell you that there are three degrees in purgatory. The first is for those who have repented, but not done penance for their sins; the second for such as, though they have done penance, have died with an inclination to sin; and the third is destined for those who do not believe that they can sin — that is to say, for the great of this earth. This degree of purgatory is the highest, and I will pray fervently that your majesty may not experience it." — "Ay, do, my dear Tobias," said the king, laughing; "it shall not be for nothing." Not long afterwards he sent the abbot a gold snuff-box, with a slip of paper, on which he had written: "Memento to labour for my salvation."

On the partition of Poland, when the king took possession of his share, the Catholic bishop of Ermeland lost a considerable portion of his revenues. When soon afterwards he waited on the king at Potsdam, Frederick said to him:—"Surely you cannot feel any attachment

to me." The bishop replied that he should never forget the duty which a subject owes to his sovereign. "And I," rejoined the king, "am your very good friend, and reckon with confidence on your friendship. If St. Peter should deny me admittance into Paradise, I hope you will do me the favour to smuggle me in under your cloak."—"That will scarcely be possible," said the bishop: "your majesty has clipped it so short, that there would be little chance of hiding any contraband goods under it."

We cannot wonder if, as in this instance, the king's jokes were occasionally retorted upon himself:—"When his sister, the duchess of Brunswick, was at Berlin, Frederick one day made a present to count Schwerin, his grand equerry, of a snuff-box, on the lid of which was painted an ass. No sooner had the count quitted the king than he sent his valet to Berlin with the box, and directions to get the ass taken off, and the king's portrait put in its place. Next day, at dinner, the count affected to leave his box carelessly on the table, and the king, who wished to amuse the duchess at the expense of the grand equerry, spoke of the box which he had given to him. The duchess asked to see it. The box was handed to her; she opened it, and exclaimed:—"Bless me, what a likeness! the resemblance is perfect! Upon my word, brother, this is one of the best portraits of you I have ever seen." The king was quite disconcerted, and thought that the joke was carried rather too far. The duchess handed the box to her next neighbour, and it was passed from one to another round the table, every one joining in admiration of the resemblance. The king knew not what to think of the matter, till the

box, coming at length under his inspection, he discovered the trick, and joined in the laugh.

Frederick despised flattery, with the dangers of which his works show him to have been well acquainted. On some extraordinary occasion, a new prologue was written to an opera that was to be performed in Berlin. Frederick looked it over, struck out all that the poet had introduced in praise of himself, and wrote on the margin: — "The king must be put quite out of the question."

In the marble hall of the new palace of Sans-Souci, Vanloo painted on the ceiling the assembly of the gods by command of the king. The artist introduced two Fames carrying the cipher of his royal patron, wreathed with laurel, to the assembled deities. As soon as Frederick saw it, he ordered the scaffold to be erected again, and the reference to himself taken out. The vacant space is still to be seen.

It must not be imagined, however, that the king always spurned a neat compliment. In March, 1771, when Dutens visited Potsdam, as companion to lord Algernon Percy, second son of the duke of Northumberland, the king would not admit the former to his presence, even at Bastiani's solicitation. When Dutens went to see the new palace, he wrote the following lines in the Visiters' book:—

"Superbes bâtimens, goût, genie, et beaux arts,
Tout ici vous retrace une image de Rome,
Et si vous cherchez un grand homme,
Fréderic seul vaut les deux premiers Césars."

The king heard of them, and the writer was admitted.

Most extraordinary have been some of the calumnies circulated against this great sovereign. Thus Retif de

la Bretonne, a most prolific French novelist, and who, having been bred a printer, is said to have composed many of his works without committing them to writing, tells his readers, in one of these, "Philosophie de Mr. Nicolas," published in Paris in 1796, that Frederick made experiments in crossing the human race with all sorts of animals; that those with the boar, and especially with the sow, were most successful; but that he ordered the results of these experiments to be destroyed in the last days of his life. This stupid fiction probably found believers, as well as the execrable slanders of a Voltaire, a Büsching, and a Zimmermann.

The king never was known to have a particular dislike to double or compound names. An old nobleman once solicited permission, in compliance with the will of a lady who had left him a large fortune, to add her name to his own. "The man has a name already," replied Frederick; "what does he want with two?" General Zaremba had a long Polish name. The king had heard of it, and one day said to him: — "What is your proper name, Zaremba?" The general repeated it at full length.—"Why!" exclaimed Frederick, "the devil himself has not got such a name!"—"No, your majesty," replied Zaremba drily, "but then he does not belong to my family."

A great number of the productions of his pen belong to this later period of his life subsequent to the seven years' war. The history of that war he wrote as soon as it was over. The partition of Poland and the Bavarian succession war likewise furnished occasion for historical narrations; so that we possess, together with the history of Frederick's predecessors, almost the whole

long series of political events in which he himself bore a part from the commencement of the first Silesian war, delineated by his own hand—a series of historical works, which in this respect has no parallel. In all that Frederick has written concerning the history of his own life prevails the strictest impartiality: no part of it was printed while he lived; but these works were destined for posterity alone.

I subjoin two or three anecdotes to those already given in illustration of the extraordinary presence of mind and coolness manifested by the king in the most imminent dangers.

In the autumn of 1758, when the king was with the army in Bohemia, he rode out early one morning, attended only by some of his aides-de-camp, to reconnoitre, but, so thick a fog came on, that they could not see four paces before them. They were upon a *high* road, and the king conceived that it was not yet time to strike off to the right, in order to turn the enemy's advanced posts. Oppen, one of the aides-de-camp, however, expressed his conviction that they had already passed them, and got too far to the left. Scarcely were the words out of his mouth, when an Austrian hussar came galloping from the right to see who it was that he had heard speaking. Frederick, who never lost his presence of mind in such cases, advanced at a quick pace to meet the Austrian. "Hussar," said he, in a firm voice, "where does this road lead to?" The hussar saw at once that they were Prussians, and, completely disconcerted by the tone and look of the interrogator, he stopped short, motionless and speechless as a statue. Turning to his attendants: — "Come on,

gentlemen," said the king, calmly, "the hussar does not know;" and away they scampered under cover of the fog, which put an end to the reconnoissance.

During the same war, the king was one day riding out with a very small retinue to reconnoitre, when several shots were fired at them, but without effect, from a thicket in which some Pandours were concealed. The king took no notice of this, but one of the party besought him to consult his safety, for there was a man behind a tree close to the road-side, who was taking aim at him. The king coolly looked round, perceived the Pandour, and, lifting up his stick, cried in a threatening tone: "*Du! du!*" [thou! thou!]' His awe-struck foe immediately grounded his piece, uncovered his head, and remained in that respectful attitude till the king had passed.

In the year 1813, the keeper of a wine-house at Hohenelbe, in Bohemia, a clear-headed and wealthy man, dressed up this circumstance for the amusement of his customers in the following droll narrative: "Look you, gentlemen," said he, "if I am such a rich chap, I've to thank the great Fritz for it; for, d'ye see, just as the Prussians had got into Bohemia, in the seven years' war, there was my father standing sentry all alone by himself at an advanced post. Fritz came riding along straight towards my father, and he, a cute chap, cocked his piece at him. 'Nay,' said the king, 'what art thou about? Thou wouldst not be such a blockhead as to put an end to the seven years' war in the first four weeks! do thy duty this instant.' With that my father presented arms before Fritz. 'That's right,' said he, now I'll give thee something to drink;' and so he put

his hand in his breeches pocket and gave my father thirty thousand dollars all in Prussian six-kreutzer pieces, and with that money he set up the snug business which I'm carrying on here now."

The king, having entered a village in Saxony, for the purpose of reconnoitring, perceived that he had approached a redoubt commanded by an Austrian captain. As soon as the latter discovered that his majesty was in the village, he kept up a brisker fire. Frederick, meanwhile, stood absorbed in thought, resting his arm against a barn, and apparently so regardless of the shower of bullets falling around him, that an aide-de-camp in attendance besought him to retire from so dangerous a situation. The king replied: "Heaven will direct the ball that is commissioned to destroy me." In a few minutes a ball struck the barn about three paces from him, and was immediately followed by a second in the same direction. "I protest," said the king, "that this is exceedingly impertinent. Let these miscreants be dislodged!" A detachment immediately marched up to the redoubt, carried it, and took the captain and his whole company prisoners of war. The Prussian soldiers having secured his watch, his money, and all the valuables about his person, finished with cutting off the brim of his hat. Incensed at this indignity, he solicited an audience of the king. "Ah, captain! good day to you!" said Frederick, as soon as he saw him; "what is your pleasure?" The captain complained of the treatment which he had received. "What!" replied the king, "are you a stranger to the usages of war! On these occasions people do not stand upon punctilioes as in a state procession. You may rejoice at having escaped

so cheaply. My soldiers might have taken your life, and surely life is preferable to the shabby trim of an old hat." The captain afterwards acknowledged that he was the more astonished at the pleasant and familiar tone in which the king had addressed him, because he had always represented to himself the conqueror of Silesia as a fierce and imperious sovereign.

Being in the New Mark, as close to the Russian army as an intervening rivulet would permit, he wished to reconnoitre the position and the number of the enemy. He advanced, therefore, to the margin of the stream, followed by an aide-de-camp, a servant on horseback, and a page carrying his telescope. Alighting from his horse, he ordered the page to stand just before him, and, resting the glass upon his shoulder, he made his observations. The Russians, seeing him thus employed, kept up so incessant and well-aimed a fire from an advanced battery, that the balls fell around the king and covered his coat with the mould which they threw up. During all this time, Frederick, motionless, and with his eye to the telescope, observed the enemy with the most earnest attention. At length, his aide-de-camp conceived it to be his duty to apprize the king of his situation. He approached him, and, gently pulling the skirt of his coat, said: "Your majesty is in the very midst of danger. See how the balls are falling thicker and thicker about you, while your hat and coat are sprinkled with mould." For some time the king returned no answer whatever; but, at length, calmly turning his head towards the aide-de camp, he replied: "If you are frightened, you may go:" and again he had recourse to his telescope. Having satisfied himself, and completed his

survey, he said to the page: "So far, so good; put up the telescope." Coolly mounting his horse, he backed a few paces, conversing on different subjects with his aide-de-camp, while the balls still continued to fall at their feet.

CHAPTER XLV.

Royal Family—Unaccountable conduct of Frederick to the Queen—The Prince of Prussia—His children—His brother, Prince Henry—The King's brother Henry—His sister Amelia—The Princes of Brunswick—Duke Ferdinand—The Hereditary Prince—Prince William.

The conduct of Frederick to the queen, during the latter half of his reign, appears quite inexplicable. Not only did he abstain from all intimate intercourse with her, as he had done before, but even from that ordinary kind of conversation which might be expected to take place at meeting between persons the most indifferent to one another. We hear of no offence on her part, of no new motive of aversion on his, to account for such a state of things. Still we are assured that, after the seven years' war, when he dined with the queen, he never spoke a word to her, but only made the usual obeisance on entering, sitting down, and rising. At table, he took his place opposite to her. Some time after the year 1770, her majesty had an attack of gout. When the king dined one day in her apartments, she was not present, but sat in an arm-chair in her drawing-room. Frederick went to her and inquired very politely after her health, to the no small astonishment of all present, and indeed of the whole city, when the circumstance became public. This is believed to have been the last time that he spoke to her before his death. He continued, however, during this latter portion of his life, to manifest for her invariable attention and respect. Particular tokens of this kind were recorded in the

newspapers; for instance, that on the 18th of April, 1778, his majesty had been graciously pleased to present the queen with a complete dinner service, and two complete tea services, of the finest porcelain; and that on new year's day, 1785, his majesty had dined at the queen's with the rest of the royal family and a numerous company of the high nobility.

In 1765, the state of the royal family of Prussia was such as to excite in the mind of the king some apprehension of the possible extinction of male heirs. "The succession," he says himself, "rested with four persons —the prince of Prussia and his brother Henry, the king's brother, prince Henry, and prince Ferdinand, who had then no male issue." In the first of these, Frederick William, eldest son of his eldest brother, the hero fondly hoped to live again; and he had, therefore, manifested great solicitude that he should be brought up in every respect in a manner befitting his high destination. Contrary to the practice long pursued in regard to Prussian princes, his majesty selected for him German tutors and governors, and himself initiated him into the military art towards the conclusion of the seven years' war.

"It is related," says Thiebault, "that in one of the actions, while the young prince was galloping after his uncle, his horse was killed under him by a cannon-ball. The king, chancing to turn his head, saw the prince and the horse fall into a sort of ditch, and said, without stopping: 'Ah! the prince of Prussia is killed! Let his saddle and bridle be taken care of.' This has been quoted as evidence of hardness of heart in Frederick, whereas it only proves how entirely the soul of that

great man was engrossed in the heat of battle by one object and one idea. The insensibility and indifference attributed to him were foreign to his character. Luckily, it was the horse of the prince only that was struck; he rose, mounted another, and rejoined his uncle."

Unlike the other princes of his house, Frederick William was of commanding stature, being upwards of six feet high, and well proportioned. He had enjoyed the benefit of an education far more regular and judicious than that which his illustrious uncle had received, and collected a considerable fund of information and experience. He had cultivated music also, and played the violoncello with such skill as to be heard with pleasure after the two celebrated brothers Duport.

As a consort for this prince, before he had completed his 21st year, the king now selected Elisabeth, fourth daughter of duke Charles of Brunswick, to whom he was married on the 14th of July, 1765. The union was not auspicious. That the prince's habits were early debauched and profligate, and that he was fond of low pleasures, seems to be generally admitted; but whether, as it has been alleged, some infidelity on the part of the princess contributed to produce their subsequent separation, appears rather doubtful. The only issue of this marriage was a daughter, united in process of time to the duke of York.

The divorce took place in 1769. It was a painful circumstance for the king, not merely on account of the frustration of his own plans, but for the sake of the house of Brunswick, with which he was united by so many ties of kindred and friendship. He appointed a commission to investigate the matter, composed of the

ministers of justice and of the foreign department, two privy-councillors of the supreme tribunal, and the two consistorial-councillors, Sack and Spalding; and the prince and princess had each counsel assigned to assist them. All the members of this commission were bound by a solemn oath not to divulge any facts whatever that should come to their knowledge. When the proceedings were closed, the king sealed up the documents with his own hand. The result was communicated to the foreign sovereigns. A divorce was pronounced, and the princess exiled to Stettin, where she resided till her death in 1840, at the advanced age of 93. "It is well known," says a German periodical publication, in a brief account of her, "that she owed her fate not so much to any charge alleged against her as to an unbending obstinacy of disposition. Frederick II. merely required her to abstain from saying a single word—she would not suppress it." The connexion formed by her husband with a person of low birth, to which I shall presently have occasion to advert, might of itself be sufficient to account for the separation, owing to the resentment which it would naturally excite in the mind of a princess of keen sensibility and a high spirit. Closely confined at first, she was afterwards allowed perfect liberty in Stettin, and treated with all the respect due to her birth. The present king, when crown-prince, never omitted visiting her when he was in Pomerania, and this threw a cheering brilliance over her latter years.

No sooner was this unpleasant business disposed of than Frederick William contracted a fresh marriage, on the 19th of July, 1769, with Louise, daughter of Louis IX., landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, a general

in the Prussian army, who in the following year presented him with a son. The birth of this prince (the late king of Prussia) was a joyful event to Frederick, as tending to secure the line of succession.

Long before his divorce, the Prince of Prussia had formed a connexion with the daughter of a musician belonging to the king's band, named Enke, whom he carefully instructed himself for three years, and then sent on a tour to Paris. On her return in 1770, the king wrote to Philippi, president of the police, intimating, that he could not prevent the prince from visiting her, but that a country-house in the vicinity of Berlin must be immediately bought, that his nephew might not come so frequently to the capital, because he would there make acquaintances which he (the king) disapproved; that if the lady disobeyed this command, she should be called to account, but if she strictly complied with it, he should continue to be well-disposed towards her. Frederick thereupon gave the prince 20,000 dollars, and count Schmettau's country-seat at Charlottenburg was bought for his residence. After the accession of Frederick William to the throne, this lady, who was the nominal wife of Riez, his privy-cämerier, but never lived under the same roof with him, figured as the professed mistress of the king, with the title of countess of Lichtenau. His two children by her he created count and countess von der Mark, and purchased for them the estates of Lichtenau, Breitenwerder, and Rosswiese in the New Mark, which had belonged to Brenckenhoff, for 130,000 dollars. In 1802, the countess of Lichtenau was married to Holbein, the dramatic

writer, who parted from her in 1806; and she died in Berlin, in 1820, at the age of 68.

There have been persons who, while censuring the conduct of Frederick William II., have alleged as an excuse for it that he was driven into the low debauchery with which his time was principally occupied by the slavery in which he was held by his uncle, and pretend that the king, instead of putting forward the heir to his crown, kept him in the back-ground as much as possible. These charges against the great king are wholly unfounded. The fact is that Frederick was too proud of his nephew to deny him opportunities for acquiring an insight into public business, or to withhold his warmest praise when the prince had acquitted himself to his satisfaction. In 1772, the king deputed him to hold the reviews in East Prussia and Lithuania, that he might make himself practically acquainted with the administration of the country and the army. In 1774, president Roden was ordered by him to give the heir to the crown instructions in every branch of the financial system for an hour four times a-week. Frederick was delighted to see the prince in oral or written correspondence on foreign affairs with the ablest diplomatists, such as Hertzberg and count Görtz, and gaining the confidence of foreign sovereigns.

In the war of the Bavarian succession, the prince commanded one of the three corps of the Prussian army. It was this corps alone that was harassed on all sides by the Austrians during the well-known retreat from Bohemia, but he led it to its destination without suffering the enemy to impede its progress, or sustaining

any serious loss. Having left the troops in the places assigned to them, he repaired to Breslau, where he arrived at the hour of parade. Here he found the king, who, turning to him, said, in the presence of his generals, in a grave and serious tone: "You are no longer my nephew," and embracing him, added: "you are my son."

A few years afterwards, Frederick had in winter a violent attack of gout. Knowing that Joseph II. was impatiently awaiting the moment of his death, he said: "It is possible that this time they may be right; I may die, but they will get little by it. I leave a nephew who will be myself again."

In 1780, on the return of the prince from a diplomatic mission to Petersburg, though he had been unsuccessful, the king met him on the staircase, affectionately embraced him, and said: "I have now tried him both in war and in peace. He has rendered me signal services in Russia, and with all possible ability." He ordered the officers of the garrison to pay their respects to the prince, and to congratulate him on his return home, which was universally considered as a very unusual, and therefore the more flattering, distinction.

If then misunderstandings did arise between them, and indeed there can be no doubt of that, for an eye-witness relates that, in March, 1776, the prince and his consort dined with the king, "an honour which they had not enjoyed for a year and a half," they seem much more likely to have originated in the misconduct of the nephew than in any tyrannical or jealous spirit on the part of the uncle. The Bavarian war produced a complete reconciliation; and by this time the king

could look at his family without uneasiness, since the succession was secured in the children of his nephew, as well as in those of his brother Ferdinand; and he even beheld the eldest son of the former (the late king of Prussia) growing up under his own superintendence, and serving in his army, for which he gave him his first commission as ensign at the age of seven years.

The birth of this prince was an event peculiarly gratifying to the king. On this subject he thus wrote, on the 12th of August, 1770, to general Krockow: "It is with great pleasure that I accept the new testimony of zeal and affection which you have given me on the birth of the prince whom my dear niece, the princess of Prussia, has just given us. An event so interesting for myself and all my royal house has filled me with the liveliest joy, and, what makes me feel it the more profoundly is, that it is shared by the whole country. May it also some day share with me the satisfaction of seeing this young prince tread in the glorious steps of his ancestors!" To Voltaire he wrote on the same occasion: "I thank you for the interest you take in the infant that has been born to us. I hope that he may have the qualities which he ought to have, and that, instead of being a scourge, he will be a benefactor, to mankind."

An account of the baptism of prince William, the youngest son of Frederick's successor, presents a singular contrast with the pompous ceremonies usual at other courts on such occasions. The 10th of July, 1783, was fixed for the ceremony, which took place at Potsdam. The corps of superior officers of the guard had assembled before the palace of the prince, and there waited for the king. On his arrival, accompanied by prince Frederick

of Brunswick, he was conducted up stairs by his nephew, and the rest of the assemblage followed. The prince's children were in the ante-room to their mother's apartment to receive the king. Here were placed a table with a silver basin, and near it a state-bed, on which the infant was laid. The court chaplain, the nurse, and two bedchamber women, were in attendance. The king stopped about a minute, and then went into the next room, where the princess of Prussia was sitting up in bed. After a few words of congratulation, Frederick returned to the apartment where the ceremony was to be performed; one of the queen's ladies had meanwhile lifted the prince from the bed, and, as soon as the king approached the table, she placed the infant in his arms. The chaplain performed his duty with great brevity, among other things expressing a wish that the prince might grow up to be an ornament to the royal house. The king thereupon went back to the princess to take his leave. As he was going away, the young princes, who were still in the baptismal chamber, kissed his hand: Louis the younger, then ten years old, looked at his great-uncle, and seemed ready to cry. "What is the matter?" asked the king. "You are tired of your coat, I suppose? Well, well, you shall have a soldier's coat like your brother." Overjoyed at this permission, the young prince expressed his simple thanks, and Frederick, accompanied by his nephew, went down stairs, and again mounted his horse. All the circumstances here related occupied but seven minutes.

Another instance of despatch used on a like occasion may be quoted here.

One of his generals having requested his majesty to

stand godfather to a child of his, Frederick attended the ceremony in person. The minister, acquainted with the king's disposition, instead of delivering a long discourse, as is usual on such occasions, merely said: "Since we are required to baptize the children of Christians, I shall now perform that sacred rite. I give this infant the name of Frederick, baptizing it in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen!" "I like expeditious people," observed the king to the minister after the ceremony. "I will think of you." Soon afterwards he gave him a good living.

Louis Frederick Charles, second son of the prince of Prussia, born in 1773, married, in 1793, the late queen of Hanover, and died in 1796.

The king was most fondly attached to prince Henry, the only brother of the prince of Prussia, because he united a most amiable disposition with promising talents, and an eager desire of knowledge. He had taken him, at the age of fifteen, to Potsdam, made him captain in the life guard, and his companion in all his journeys, till, in 1767, he appointed him colonel and commander of the regiment of cuirassiers, which had been his father's. The prince was proceeding with it from Kyritz, where it was garrisoned, to Potsdam, when he was seized at the seat of general Kleist, in the village of Protzen near Ruppin, with small-pox, which carried him off on the 26th of May, in the same year, at the age of nineteen. The king was returning from the review in Pomerania when he received the mournful intelligence, by which he was so overpowered that a letter, which he had just received from his sister, the queen of Sweden, dropped from his hand. He rose, retired a few steps,

and wiped away the tears that trickled down his cheeks. "Your majesty," said one of the high officers of his suite, "let me beseech you to cheer up under this severe loss, which it was not possible to prevent."—"You are right," replied the king; "but you do not feel the stroke and the pain inflicted by this heavy loss."—"Indeed, your majesty, I do feel it," rejoined the worthy officer; "for he was one of the most hopeful of princes."—"You do not tell the truth," was the king's answer; "you have grief upon your tongue, and I *here*," laying his hand upon his heart, "for this prince was one of the best of men." At these words, tears started afresh from the eyes of the great king, who could no longer conceal them. He therefore turned away, and said, "I wish to be alone." The king stopped for the night at Bernau, being unable to proceed any further for grief.

He ordered the officers of the army to wear the same marks of mourning for his nephew as they had done at the death of his father, the prince of Prussia, and chose himself the words of Isaiah, lv. 8, 9, "My thoughts are not your thoughts," &c., for the text of the funeral sermon. The king consecrated, moreover, to the memory of the hopeful prince so prematurely snatched from him a noble Eloge, which was read on the 30th of December at an extraordinary meeting of the Academy of Sciences. Thiebault tells us that, when this composition was finished, Frederick sent for him, as he usually did on such occasions, to correct and copy it. On his arrival, the king received him with a countenance expressive of deep affliction, but at the same time with the look of a man determined to master his feelings. He succeeded to a certain degree, while explaining to the professor

the reason of his sending for him; but, when he attempted to read to him what he had written, his voice faltered, and he had not proceeded beyond two or three pages before his grief became ungovernable. He burst into tears, and, covering his face with one hand, held out the manuscript to Thièbault in the other, unable to utter a word. "I took the paper," continues that writer, "contemplating with respect and a sort of consolation this great man, who thus proved himself as accessible as the rest of mankind to the most touching and endearing affections of our nature." After a pause of some minutes, the king articulated with difficulty: "You understand what I wish you to do. *Good night!*" Thièbault says that he retired with increased veneration for the monarch, founded upon conviction of the sincerity of the feelings which he had manifested, and his anxiety to conceal them, had it been possible to do so.

Prince Henry, next to his royal brother the most distinguished member of the house of Prussia, had married, as we have seen, in 1752, a princess of Hesse Cassel, when Frederick gave him Rheinsberg for his residence. Here they lived, according to Thièbault, on the best terms, but without issue, till 1765, when, owing to the confidence placed by Henry in unworthy persons, a cloud suddenly arose between him and the princess, and this cloud was never dispelled. They separated, and never did she again set foot at Rheinsberg, or the prince where she resided. Her name was never mentioned at the queen's or any where else. In his palace at Berlin, she had her apartments on the left and the prince on the right; and the grand staircase had two branches, so that they could go up and down without meeting one

another, which caused count Lendorf to observe: "The king has built your royal highness a palace admirably arranged: a man might pass his whole life here without running the risk of meeting his wife." The establishment of the prince was very numerous, including valets, musicians, actors, &c. It was a world in miniature. "See," said he one day with a laugh to Thièbault, "if I ought not to be economical! I have not an income of one hundred thousand dollars, and have one hundred and ten persons to keep."

Preuss shows that in the year 1746-7, the total income of Prince Henry was about 65,000 dollars, but that when the expenses of management were deducted, there remained little more than 17,000 for his royal highness. Thièbault's statement refers to a much later period.

The king did full justice to the great military talents displayed by his brother, to whom he has raised a glorious memorial, when treating of the battle of Freiberg in his History of the Seven Years' War. "It would be superfluous," he says, "to pronounce here a panegyric on his royal highness: the best panegyric that can be dedicated to him is the narrative of his deeds. It requires no great penetration to discover in them that happy mixture of prudence and boldness, which is as rare as it is desirable, and which comprehends the sum of all the perfections that Nature can confer in order to form a great warrior."

Prince Henry showed himself not merely the able general, but the friend of mankind. Commanding almost always in Saxony, he had found means to make the inhabitants love and adore him for his justice, his

beneficence, and the discipline which he maintained in his army. — A noble Saxon, unable to pay the contributions assessed upon him, put an end to his life in despair. Every one was struck with the sorrow shown on this occasion by the prince, who was deeply afflicted at the catastrophe, and frequently said: "Poor man! why did he not inform me of his situation? I would have saved him." His family paid nothing. — The day after the battle of Rossbach, this prince, who had been wounded, was appointed to command the few troops left there by Frederick. It was in this quality of commander that about 300 French officers, who had been taken prisoners, were presented to him. He was angry that they had been deprived of their swords, and ordered them to be returned. "These gentlemen," said he, "are men of honour, and I wish them to be treated as such. The circumstance of being prisoners is but an accident of the profession, and does not tell against them." He then ordered the wounded to be attended to, and to be treated as though they belonged to his own army. He made inquiry, in an indirect way, concerning the necessities of the captive officers, and learned that about fifty of them had lost every thing, and were utterly destitute of resources for the moment. Being himself without money at the time, the prince borrowed of the merchants of Leipzig as much as was necessary to relieve their wants, and distributed it among them before he set out for Berlin.

When his army was marching through cultivated lands where the crops were not yet got in, if a single man was found out of the prescribed route, his captain was sure to be put under arrest. One day, during har-

vest, he saw the peasants hastening to save their corn from a storm that was gathering. He instantly ordered all the draught horses that he had with him to be harnessed, and sent them to the assistance of the farmers, who were at first alarmed and afterwards astonished to receive such assistance from a hostile general and prince. It was by thousands of such traits that he contrived to gain the esteem, the gratitude, the attachment, and the veneration of the Saxons, in as high a degree as if he had been of the blood of their own sovereigns.

Frederick gave to the prince the estates of Wegeleben and Westerburg in Halberstadt, part of the possessions of the late margrave of Schwedt; and in 1769 the reversion, dated back three years, of the lordship of Schwedt, which Henry sold in 1789 for 28,000 dollars. He resided chiefly at Rheinsberg, where he devoted himself to the arts and sciences, and enjoyed the entire esteem of his illustrious brother. Henry, whom we shall hereafter find performing a prominent part in the partition of Poland and the Bavarian succession war, survived the king many years, and died in 1802 without issue.

Frederick's youngest sister, the princess Amelia, to whose alleged intimacy with Trenk I have had occasion to advert in a preceding volume, was almost adored in her early youth, not only for her beauty and understanding, but also for the kindness and gentleness of her disposition. She was a princess of extraordinary talents and excelled particularly in music, and Thiébault says that in his time he knew persons who had pieces of her composition, which were admired at a period when people were far from being prepossessed in her favour.

Out of the whole family, we are told by the same writer, Amelia was perhaps the one whose mind bore the greatest resemblance to Frederick's: there was the same vivacity, the same shrewdness, the same disposition to sarcasm — that is to say in the later period of her life; for in her youth she was remarkable for avoiding whatever could disoblige. Her library, which was copious, was likewise curious, for the margins of almost all the books were covered with notes made by her while reading them.

During the seven years' war, when the court received orders to remove from Berlin to Magdeburg, Madame du Troussel, one of the attendants of the princesses, whose mother was dying, went to the palace to take leave of them and the queen: she found Amelia in full dress and covered with all her diamonds. She was radiant with joy, and highly amused to see the court-yard full of carts and packages, which had been thrown out of the windows for the sake of despatch.

A thing that struck every one, though few could allege any cause for it, was the constant and invariable attachment which seemed to prevail between this princess and Frederick. He never went to Berlin without immediately sending a page to inquire after her health; his first visit was to her, or rather he visited nobody else. When he had early fruit or any other treat of that kind, he shared it with her.

It appears from Thiébault's account that this princess, like other persons at the court of Prussia at that time, had the weakness to consult habitually all the conjurors and fortune-tellers of any repute; that, during the seven years' war, especially in the most critical periods of it,

she frequently passed whole days in getting the king's fortune told, though without naming him, and that she regularly sent the results to his majesty. Thiebault's informant was Madame du Troussel, who was herself implicated in these divinations.

The marked and invariable attachment subsisting between Frederick and the Princess Amelia had this bad effect, that both court and city looked upon the one as the chief spy of the other; so that at length everybody felt a singular dread of the princess. Hence she passed the latter years of her life in great retirement and almost without society.

That part of her history which is least known and which has given rise to most conjectures is the cause of her bodily infirmities. With a naturally good constitution, she ought to have been exempt from these till an advanced age; but they came upon her long before that period of life when they might have been at all apprehended, and they came upon her all at once. There is no doubt that she brought them upon herself. Her eyes being inflamed, Meckel, her physician, ordered her to hold them over the steam of a certain liquid, at the distance of seven or eight inches, and to take particular care not to let it touch the eyes, or she would run the risk of blinding herself. In spite of this warning, she gave them such a rubbing with the composition that she nearly lost her sight: her eyes ever afterwards looking as though starting out of their sockets, and as hideous as they had before been beautiful.

Another still more surprising infirmity was the loss of her voice, likewise, as it is alleged, by her own fault. It was difficult to understand her: her voice was only a

harsh, indistinct, sepulchral sound, like that which would issue from a person nearly strangled. "I say nothing," concludes Thièbault, "of her shaking head, which she could scarcely hold upright, or of her limbs, for which even her emaciated body was too great a burden, or of her hands and arms, which were more than half paralysed. In this miserable state she lived, or rather existed, a singular phenomenon to the observer, till released by death shortly after the decease of her royal brother."

Assuming all that is related of this princess to be true, I should be disposed to conclude either that her reason was never very strong, or that it received a rude shock from her early disappointments.

Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick was appointed after the peace governor of Magdeburg and inspector-general of the troops in that district. In 1766 he quitted the service in dissatisfaction, for which various reasons have been assigned, but I have no doubt of the correctness of the account of the affair left by General Lindenau among his manuscript papers, which is as follows:—"The king held a review of the corps annually assembled near Magdeburg under Duke Ferdinand. On the first review-day he ordered Colonel Anhalt, quartermaster-general, to direct entrenchments to be thrown up for the following manœuvre. Anhalt hastened to the camp, without apprizing the duke, as commander, of the order, which he should have done, and made the men required for throwing up the entrenchments step out of the ranks and fall to work. Duke Ferdinand, nettled at this, reprimanded him: Anhalt retorted, alleging that it was absolutely necessary that

the king's order should be executed promptly and without delay. The duke complained to the king: Anhalt was obliged to absent himself for a fortnight from Potsdam. The duke, not content with this satisfaction, demanded his dismission, which was immediately granted, and Anhalt made his appearance again at Potsdam, as before."

From his written communications with Westphall, his secretary, it is certain that during the war the duke felt a great coolness for Frederick, who, it is true, was frequently unreasonable in his expectations; but it is not probable that, as it has been stated, the duke accepted in the same year the commission of field-marshal in the Austrian service and the infantry regiment of Kolowrat. Ferdinand resided for the remainder of his life at Brunswick, or at Vechelde, a country-seat near that city, devoting his time to the arts and sciences and to the mysteries of freemasonry. When Frederick passed through Brunswick, in May, 1777, Ferdinand asked his nephew, the hereditary prince, how he thought the king would take it if he were to pay him his respects in person at the hunting-seat of Langeleben. When the prince sounded the king on the subject, Frederick replied that he might assure the duke that he should be rejoiced to see him; adding that he was one of those rare characters whose friendship cannot be regarded with indifference. He did full justice to Ferdinand's merits in his History of the Seven Years' War, and also made honourable mention of him in his will. The duke died in 1792.

The hereditary prince of Brunswick, Frederick's nephew and his particular favourite, he kept constantly

about him. He accompanied him in all his journeys, among the rest in that to Neustadt, in Moravia, to meet the emperor Joseph, and in the Bavarian succession war. In his account of the battle of Hastenbeck, when the prince, not yet twenty-two years old, took a battery, Frederick says, "the hereditary prince took it sword in hand, and showed by this exploit that nature had destined him for a hero." This was the same prince who subsequently experienced such vicissitudes of fortune in Holland, in France, and at Jena, where, as commander-in-chief of the Prussian army, he received the wound of which he died in November, 1806.

Prince William, brother of the hereditary prince of Brunswick, was also a favourite with the king, who gave him a regiment before he was nineteen. Thièbault, who, from his own account, must have been intimately acquainted with this prince, relates that Frederick one day asked him if he was willing to commit himself entirely to his guidance and instruction. His nephew most thankfully accepted the offer. "Well," said the king, "now I must know what are your ruling passions."—"As yet, your majesty, I am aware of no more than three. In the first place, I should like to be a good chess-player."—"In that matter I cannot be of any use to you. I play at no game, and have not even learned chess."—"My second wish is to become a great general."—"There, indeed, I may be of service: but that requires time, long and deep study, and much experience. We will occasionally converse on this subject. I will be as useful to you as I can. Now for the third."—"That is, to learn to write verses like your majesty: I wish to become a great poet."—"My dear nephew, Na-

ture alone creates poets. As, however, poetry has its rules, with which I have certainly taken great pains to make myself acquainted, I may be of some assistance to you: but I must first find out whether you have any talent for it. I will therefore give you a lesson every day after dinner, and make you acquainted with the rules of French versification, as I presume you will compose in that language, since it has furnished finer models than any other in late times."—"Yes, your majesty, it is my intention to make the attempt in that language."—"Well, we will begin to-morrow, after dinner."

The king accordingly undertook the office of preceptor to his young nephew. For some days he took pleasure in the employment; but difficulties upon difficulties arose, and he wished to get rid of the arduous duty. After he had given the seventh lesson to his docile pupil, he therefore said to him: "I have now made you acquainted with the principal rules. A great deal more, it is true, remains to be learned; but it consists chiefly of minutiæ which would only fatigue you, or even deter you from proceeding any further. What I have taught you will therefore suffice for the present, and enable you to commence your poetic essays. Now, set about applying what you have learned. Make some verses every day; let me see them, and you shall have my remarks upon them. To-morrow, after dinner, give me the first specimen."—"On what subject?"—"Choose any subject that most interests you."—"How many verses must I make?"—"Just as many as you please; I will not confine you."

The prince returned to his apartments, which were under those of the king, in the first floor of the palace,

and cudgelled his brains for above an hour to no purpose. At length his eye chanced to fall upon a sentinel who was slowly pacing to and fro under his windows, the very picture of ennui. Why, said he to himself, should I not take for my subject Ennui, that cruel goddess, a daughter of the nether world, who ascended to ours to torment mankind! He contrived, with great effort, to produce a piece of ten couplets, concluding with the words:

. . . . . "Et même
Voltige sous les dais des rois."

Next day, the prince handed his verses to the king, who began to read them with the greatest attention; but, on coming to the end, his countenance assumed a morose expression, and he asked what the last lines alluded to. "Why," replied the prince sharply, "your majesty lately gave an audience to the Turkish ambassador, at which I was present. While he was making his endless congratulatory speech, and his interpreter was translating it, I observed your majesty yawn, and thence I conclude that even great kings are liable to the visitations of that malicious fairy, Ennui." The king smiled, but never desired to see any more of his nephew's verses; and the prince took good care not to show him them.

The reference to the audience given to the Turkish ambassador fixes the date of this occurrence about the end of the year 1763, or the beginning of 1764.

Prince William was one of the officers whom the king sent in 1769 as volunteers to the Russian army employed against the Turks. After distinguishing himself in the victory gained by Romanzof, at the river Kagul,

on the 7th of August, 1770, the prince was carried off in the same month by an inflammatory fever, in Bessarabia. Like his royal uncle, he continued to cultivate the acquaintance of the Muses, and left behind him an unfinished heroic poem, on the Conquest of Mexico by Cortez, in twelve cantos.

CHAPTER XLVI.

The King's Household Servants—Instances of his Indulgence towards them in cases of gross Dishonesty—Anecdotes of Müller—The King's Christmas Presents—Kind Treatment of his Attendants—Instances of his Forbearance—His Encouragement of Filial Duty and Affection—Anecdotes of Pirch, one of his Pages.

The king's household was rather numerous, but his servants had not very high wages. Such of them as did their duty were sure to find in him the kindest, most fatherly, and best of masters; and he never spoke to those about his person without using the familiar *Du*—thou—and calling them, with a sort of family endearment, *Mein Kind*—my child. Many proved ungrateful, dishonest, and worthless; and, in case of misbehaviour, he would sometimes chastise them on the spot with his own hand, put them under arrest, send them back to the army from which they were in general taken, or dismiss them altogether. But among examples of severity against offenders, we meet with instances of truly royal clemency and generosity.

Frederick was often robbed by his attendants. In the early part of his reign, he frequently left rouleaus of gold on the mantel-piece, or on the ledges of the windows, whether accidentally, or to try the honesty of his servants, it is impossible to say. One day, while dozing in an easy chair, a lacquey took advantage of an opportunity which appeared so favourable to pocket a rouleau. The king soon roused up and missed the money. He called a chamber-hussar. "I miss a rouleau

of ducats," said he: "I insist on knowing who has stolen it. Thou must know thy comrades well enough; I look to thee to find out the thief." The poor fellow naturally pleaded ignorance, but to no purpose. He therefore resorted to all possible means for discovering the offender, and succeeded. The king sent for the culprit. "Scoundrel," he began angrily, "thou hast robbed me." The thief did not attempt to deny his guilt, but stood pale and trembling before him; on which, Frederick proceeded in a milder tone: "Here is another rouleau of ducats; take it, and run as fast as thou canst; if thou art not very soon across the frontiers, thou shalt surely be hanged."

Another lacquey had made free with several thousand dollars belonging to the king. Frederick mentioned his loss, laughingly, at table, saying, that he was surrounded by pickpockets; but he made no inquiry after the thief. In a few days, one of his old servants mentioned to him the name of the person by whom he had been robbed. "That is not true," said the king, angrily; "but even if it were, thou shouldst not tell me." The servant assured him that it was the fact; that the man had already carried 5000 crowns to Berlin, and that the remainder was concealed in his bed, offering to bring it immediately, if the king desired it. "Hold thy tongue," replied Frederick, "I wish neither to see nor touch the money which the rascal has stolen, and I command thee to say nothing more to me about it." In a week, the king, riding out, met the rogue, enjoying himself in a carriage. "What, villain!" cried Frederick, "dost thou spend the money which thou hast stolen from me on coaches?"—and then continued his ride.

Next day he sent him back to the regiment of hussars, from which he had taken him, but without depriving him of the fruit of his roguery.

A considerable quantity of silver plate was once missing. Suspicion fell upon a chamber-hussar, who, conscious of his guilt, absconded. He was pursued, overtaken, and brought back. "We have caught the thief," said some of his attendants to the king. "Hush!" replied he, "do you suppose I did not know who he was?—I only wished not to know. What better shall I be for it, if the poor devil gets hanged!"

Being informed that Deesen, his chamber-hussar, had private meetings with the daughter of a tradesman of Potsdam, and that he was frequently absent from Sans-Souci, when the king was at concerts, or asleep, Frederick ordered him one day to sit down at the writing-table, and, while walking up and down the room, dictated the following note: "My dear, the king counts every hour that I pass so agreeably with thee. That my absences in future may be the shorter, and of course the less noticed and envied by the growler, take thyself a room near us in the Brandenburg suburb, where we may see one another more conveniently than in the town. I remain, till death, thy constant Deesen." The writer finished these lines with trembling hand, and big drops of perspiration on his brow. "Have you done?" asked the king. "Yes."—"Then put it in an envelope, and seal it." Frederick dictated the address most correctly, ordered a messenger to be summoned, and desired him to deliver the letter according to the direction. For some time, though not long, this hint had some effect on Deesen, who had the care of his privy

purse, but he then fell into such gross transgressions that it was necessary to have recourse to severity. Still, Frederick would not put him into the hands of criminal justice, but was content with ordering him to be placed among the soldiers again. An officer brought him this intelligence in his room in the palace. Deesen was thunderstruck, but seemed soon to recover himself, and merely begged permission to fetch something from his bed-chamber. In a few minutes a report of fire-arms was heard; he had shot himself through the head. When the officer informed the king of the catastrophe, Frederick observed: "I did not give the rogue credit for so much resolution."

Müller, one of the king's lacqueys, one day broke a vase of Japan porcelain, on which the king set infinite value, as a memorial of his mother. He stood for some minutes petrified with fright. On recovering himself, he began picking up the pieces, when the king suddenly entered the room. "Scoundrel!" cried Frederick, "what hast thou been doing?"—"Your majesty," replied Müller, "I have had the misfortune to drop the vase."—"So! Then thou shalt pay for it: till it is paid for, half thy wages shall be deducted."—Accordingly, for half a year, Müller was paid no more than a moiety of his salary. He, nevertheless, continued to perform his duties with punctuality; and, though he had constant opportunities of putting in a word about his diminished income, he never made the slightest allusion to it. At the expiration of this time, the king said to him: "As thou hast borne the deduction from thy wages with such patience, here is twice as much for thee; but be more careful in future."

This Müller was a favourite with his master. One day, in the ante-room, he was reading Voltaire's *Pucelle d'Orleans*. The king suddenly entered and observed him thus busily engaged. "What stupid stuff art thou reading?" asked the king. "Your majesty," replied Müller, "if it is stupid stuff, then Voltaire, who wrote it, must be a very stupid fellow indeed."—"Thou art thyself the most stupid of fellows. How can a blind man judge of colours?" Müller rose. "I see, your majesty," said he, laughing, "that one word brings on another; but I am determined not to quarrel with you, because you would insist at last that you were right." With these words he darted out of the room, and ran down stairs, humming a tune.

The king related what had passed to Quintus Icilius, who called soon afterwards, and concluded with these words: "What a happy fellow that Müller is! I tell him harsh truths, but he only laughs. I scold, and he sings, because he will not quarrel with me. I would give a great deal that all the world was as peaceably disposed towards me."

The same attendant one day brought the king a glass of water upon a salver, which he set down upon a table before him, and then returned to his place in the ante-room. Frederick was just drinking, when colonel Quintus Icilius was announced. "I am glad you are come," said the king; "I have something for you to read." At the same time, taking hold of a paper which lay on the table, and on which he had set the glass, he pulled down the latter. He called the lacquey. "How awkward," said he, angrily, to Müller, "to set the glass upon a paper! There, thou seest the consequences."—

"Your majesty—it was done—it was done inadvertently."—"Away! begone this instant!" cried the king. When the servant had left the room, and Frederick had become a little cooler, "I beg your majesty's pardon," said Quintus Icilius, "but I saw you set the glass upon the paper yourself."—"So! are you quite sure?"—"Quite, your majesty."—"Then, indeed, I have wronged the poor fellow: tell him to come in." The colonel called him. "I find," said Frederick, "that it was I who set the glass upon the paper: thou art innocent, but why didst thou not tell me so?"—"Your majesty, I was going to say so, but you would not let me speak."—"But thou saidst that it was done inadvertently."—"I did, but not in allusion to myself."—"Thou art right," said the king, smiling, "so I must not be angry with thee, but with myself."

The Christmas presents which Frederick made to his household and others attested the kindness of his disposition. On these occasions, he was accustomed to pay regard to the particular circumstances of each. Sometimes the choice of the present involved a severe piece of irony, or an intimation that he was well acquainted with the domestic circumstances of the party; at others, a silent admonition to deserve further favours. Thus, to one of his lacqueys, who had several girls, he gave dolls, little pots, and pails; to another, the father of one young infant only, a coral and a rattle; and to a third, who had several boys by a woman to whom he was not married, he gave whips, waggons, and hobby-horses. "Not far wrong, eh?" said the king, "thou wilt find customers for them."

Frederick had a page, whom he frequently charged

with secret commissions. He was accustomed to come very early in the morning to the king's apartment to give him an account of his proceedings, when his master would converse very familiarly with him. One day, while he was there, the king ordered chocolate for two. The chamber-hussar brought it, poured it out, and presented the first cup to the king. Frederick, who was in high spirits, would not take it. "Thou hast no manners," said he to the hussar. "That gentleman," pointing to the page, "is my guest; and guests, I should think, ought always to be served first." Such was the condescension of the great Frederick, who threw off the sovereign towards his own servants, and very often treated them rather as a father and a friend than as a master.

The king, when he rode out, was angry when a cloak or great-coat was taken for him without his order. One very sharp day in autumn he felt the cold so severely in one of these rides that he said, "I wish I had brought my cloak with me." One of his attendants, who had put it up unobserved, now produced it. "Who told thee to bring the cloak?"—"Your majesty, it seemed so very cold—"—"Well, thou must go to the guard-house for half an hour. Then there shall be a hundred dollars for thy forethought. But take care not to do so in future, or people may fancy that I cannot get away from the chimney-corner."

One day the king, leaning out of the window, heard a slight noise in the room behind him. Looking under his arm, he observed a page lift his snuff-box from the table, examine it for a moment, and then take a pinch. Frederick did not disturb him, but, after a while, having

shut the window, he took up the box and said to the page—"Dost thou like this box?" Disconcerted at the question, he at first made no reply, but, as the king repeated it, he said, timidly, "Yes."—"Then take it," said his master; "it is thine: it is too small for two."

Among Frederick's pages there was a youth named Sydow, who was a great favourite for his cleverness, his ingenuous disposition, and his blameless conduct. The king knew when his birthday was, and he prepared for him a truly paternal surprise. Sydow, separated as he was from his family, had nothing to remind him of the day; when, on the morning of the 28th of July, 1746, the king called him into his cabinet and pointed to a table, upon which lay an officer's uniform. "I have had a new uniform made for me," said he, "and I want to know how it fits. Just try it on." The youth hesitated for a moment: he then stripped off his page's coat and put on the uniform. "How does it fit?" asked the king. "As if it was made for me," replied Sydow, innocently, "but I have great doubts whether it would fit your majesty." Frederick smiled and bade him feel in the left pocket. The page obeyed and drew from it a folded paper, which he found on opening to be an appointment of himself to the rank of lieutenant and flugel aide-de-camp to the king, but couched in such humorous terms that he could not help considering the affair as a mere joke. "Be easy," said the king, "and feel in the right-hand pocket." He did so, and there found an appointment drawn up in due form, to which Frederick added a handsome sum of money for his equipment. Sydow became in the sequel an officer in h e guards, and was employed in various missions. At

length, in token of displeasure, he was appointed colonel of a garrison regiment, and quitted the service.

The king often showed extraordinary forbearance towards the eccentricities and even the foibles of his attendants. One of his old valets, who was fond of drink, frequently came intoxicated to his apartment. When he was so far gone as to be absolutely incapable of doing his duty, the king let him out quietly by a private door, telling him to go home to bed. He treated the poor fellow with this indulgence to spare him the raillery of the other servants and the disgrace of being dismissed; and in these cases, to prevent the thing from being known, he summoned no other attendant, but undressed himself.

During the seven years' war, the king was accustomed to take nothing for supper but a sort of biscuit, with a delicate soft French cheese and Tyrolese wine. In the year 1760, when removing from winter-quarters in Leipzig into cantonments at Meissen, his attendants forgot to take the French cheese with them. The king asked for it as usual, and was informed that it had been forgotten, but that a messenger had been sent express to fetch it. At first he was very angry at the negligence of his servants. Next morning, while he was dressing, they were in attendance, and he asked one of them—"How many asses have I about me?" His valet, perceiving the drift of the question, replied—"Your majesty has five, including myself."—"Then," rejoined Frederick, "one of them might have had the sense to bring my cheese along with him."

One cannot help being surprised at the assurance which the king's attendants sometimes displayed, and still more at the indulgence of their master on such oc-

casions. One of his servants having one day provoked him too much, the king gave him a box on the ear, which somewhat deranged his hair. The fellow placed himself before a looking-glass and began to adjust it. "Scoundrel! how darest thou!" exclaimed the king, astonished at his impudence. "Why, your majesty," he replied, "I should not like my comrades in the ante-room to see what has passed between us two." The king laughed and stepped into another apartment.

Whenever the king had a new pair of boots, he was accustomed to give them to one of his lacqueys to wear till they were easy to the feet, and then he never laid them aside till they were utterly unserviceable. When at Breslau, during the seven years' war, the king had a new pair made, and gave them to his lacquey for the purpose just mentioned, but forgot to ask him for them again till he was on the point of leaving Breslau. The lacquey had worn the boots constantly for two months, so that the soles were parted and in very bad condition. In this state he handed them to the king. "Are these my *new* boots?" he inquired. "Yes, your majesty."—"Why, they are all to pieces. I only wanted thee to tread them out a little."—"So I have, your majesty."—"I see thou hast," rejoined the king, with the utmost composure. "Give me my old ones again, and let me have a new pair in a fortnight: thou may'st keep these."

One morning very early the king was taking a walk in the garden of Sans Souci, and found a young gardener busily at work. As he had been recently engaged, he was not acquainted with the person of the king. "Thou art at it betimes," said Frederick to him. "And so one must be," he replied, "or there's the devil to pay when

old Growler gets up and finds nothing done."—"That's right, my son," replied the king, laughing; "keep in that way of thinking." Quietly pocketing the name of old Growler, he continued his walk.

A story concerning one of his pages is well known from having been made a theme for fiction. Hence many readers may not be aware of the precise facts of the case; I shall therefore not scruple to relate them here.

Rather late one evening, the king rang his bell. As no one answered the call, he went into the ante-room, and there found Malschitzki, his page, asleep. He was going to waken him, when a written paper, projecting from the youth's pocket, attracted his notice. He drew it gently out. It was a letter from his mother, thanking him for some money which he had saved out of his salary, and sent to her. "God will reward thee for it," she wrote. "Walk always in his ways, and obey his commandments, and likewise thy king, and the blessing of the Almighty will attend thee, and thou shalt prosper even in this world." The filial affection of the page, the pious exhortation of the mother, touched the heart of the king; he stepped softly back to his apartment, fetched a rouleau of ducats, slipped it cautiously with the letter into the pocket of the unconscious youth, and retired. After a while he again rang, and loud enough to waken the page. He sprung up in a fright, and hurried to the king's cabinet. "You have been asleep, I suppose," said Frederick, in a mild tone, unlike that of reproof. Overwhelmed with confusion, the lad did not deny the charge, began to stammer forth excuses, and chanced, in his embarrassment, to put his hand in his pocket. Pale as death, he drew from it a

rouleau of money, looked at the king with tears in his eyes, and was unable to speak. "What ails thee?" asked Frederick. "Ah, sire," cried the page, dropping on his knees, "somebody wants to ruin me; I know nothing about this money!"—"Be easy," rejoined the fatherly monarch; "when God bestows gifts, they come to us when we are asleep. Send the money without fear to thy mother; make my compliments, and assure her that I will provide for her and for thee."

On a reviewing tour in Pomerania, the king passed through a village, the inhabitants of which had assembled close to the road to see him. A lacquey who was on the box of the carriage raised a shout of joy, and seemed ready to leap from the vehicle, though it was moving at a rapid rate. "What is the matter?" asked the king. "Your majesty, yonder is my father and mother."—"I dare say thou wouldst like to speak to them."—"O yes, your majesty, for I did not come here with you last year."—"Well, we will stop. Go, in the name of God. Thou may'st stay over to-morrow with thy parents. Next day thou must be at Köslin." The overjoyed lacquey went home with his parents; and the provincial councillor who rode by the side of the king's carriage was directed to provide a conveyance to take his attendant at the proper time to Köslin, as the distance was too great for him to walk.

Not long before the Bavarian succession war, the king had detected one of his servants in pilfering tricks, and dismissed him in the gentlest possible way. Sadly musing over the depravity of men, he was standing at a window, when a young mechanic, who was passing the palace, made a respectful obeisance to him. The king

liked his looks, sent one of his attendants to bring the stranger to him, and scrutinized him closely. The young man, not at all disconcerted, showed a disposition in which frankness, modesty, and respect were combined. He was by trade a turner, from Hesse Darmstadt, and intended to seek employment in Prussia, of which country he had heard high commendations. "Thou appearest to be an honest fellow," said the king: "hast thou a mind to be my servant?" Not knowing whether the king was in jest or earnest, the stranger hesitated to reply. "Just give me an answer, yes or no," resumed Frederick. "Is your majesty serious?"—"Most assuredly; so, yes or no." The young man declared that he should deem himself very happy to be taken into the king's service, and the bargain was concluded. He was put into the place of the recently dismissed lacquey, and in this instance Frederick had not made a wrong choice. His new attendant soon became familiar with the duties of his situation, was clever and intelligent, and manifested a sincere attachment to the person of his master, and a gratitude which proceeded from the heart. Frederick became more and more attached to him, and soon afterwards placed his younger brother with the like success in a similar situation.

In his walks in the garden of Sans Souci, when he was attended by these brothers, he took occasion to inquire about their father, and learned that he was old, and subsisted by the produce of a petty business and of a little land. They sent him now and then a portion of their savings, and showed the king the last letter which they had received from him, and which one of them chanced to have about him. Frederick read it,

and was pleased with the excellent sentiments of the old man, and his earnest admonitions that his sons would be grateful for the unexpected good fortune which they had met with, and make themselves worthy of it by faithfulness, integrity, and the conscientious performance of their duties. Apparently lost in thought, he put the letter in his pocket. A few weeks afterwards, he told the brothers that they were going to have a visiter, and sent them about noon to a certain inn, to fetch a stranger who would have just arrived, and to bring him to the palace. What was their joy and surprise to find that this visiter was their father, who had travelled to Potsdam at the expense of the king! They conducted him to the palace, where the king received him with the greatest kindness, commended his two sons, and gave them leave of absence alternately, that they might render the old man's stay at Potsdam, where he passed some weeks, as agreeable as possible.

One of Frederick's pages, named Pirch, acquired a sort of celebrity as a youth of talent, but, at the same time, full of fun, tricks, and mischief. It sometimes happened that one or other of the king's dogs would get out of the palace of Sans Souci, and stroll about in the environs; and Frederick never failed to make a present to any one who brought back the runaway. Pirch turned this circumstance to the advantage of an old invalid who frequently showed him civilities, which he returned without trenching upon his own pocket. Whenever the man complained that he was in want of money, the page caught one of the dogs, shut him up for some days, and, as soon as the king had offered a reward for the recovery of the supposed fugitive, Pirch put

the dog into the hands of the invalid, who of course obtained the promised gratuity.

The gardens of Sans Souci were watched by invalids, who were particularly charged to take care that no one made free with the fruit, the finest of which the king was accustomed to notice in his walks, and to mark out for himself. But it was generally such fruit that was gone, nobody knew how, though the invalids were punished to sharpen their vigilance. At length it was discovered that Pirch was the pilferer. His contrivance was this. He told the invalids that the king had ordered him to exercise them for half an hour. He then set the old boys in motion, made them march and wheel first one way and then another, and manœuvred them in this manner to the very tree which had the finest fruit upon it. Here he gave the word: "Halt! front!" and made them draw up with the tree in their rear. He then went along behind the front, and in a twinkling the selected fruit was in his pocket. The king himself once caught him at this manœuvre, but was so pleased with the ingenuity of the rogue that he did not punish him.

Pirch attended the king in his campaigns during the seven years' war. One day, Frederick had taken up his quarters in the mean house of a peasant, and, as at the moment there were no troops in the village, a number of inhabitants were posted at the door by way of guard. All at once the king, who was writing in his room, was disturbed by a violent noise outside the house; and he distinguished amidst the uproar the voice of his page. "Dress!"—"Back, I say, you tunbelly!"—"Head up! Eyes right!"—"Good!"—"Handle arms."—"Ground arms." The king rose, went to the window, and saw his

page exercising the awkward squad of peasants armed with bludgeons and pitchforks. "What the devil art thou at there?" asked the king, with a suppressed smile. "Upon my honour," said Pirch, "these fellows pretend to be guarding your majesty, and they know nothing whatever of service. I'm breaking them in a little." — "Come, come, none of thy fooleries!" rejoined the king, turning about to conceal his laughter.

At the siege of Schweidnitz, in September, 1762, the king rode out, attended by this page, for the purpose of reconnoitring. Pirch's horse was killed under him, and the page fell with his ribs upon the hilt of his sword, which was quite bent by the violence of the fall. With looks expressive of severe pain, he picked himself up, and would have run off, when the king in a stern voice called out: "Where art thou going? Surely thou wilt not leave the saddle behind!" And he was obliged to unbuckle and take off the saddle, though the enemy's balls were falling around them both like hail.

The king, weary at length of Pirch's tricks, sent him as cadet to Saldern's regiment at Magdeburg, and several years elapsed before he promoted him to be an officer; but even then general Saldern was ordered to pay the strictest attention to his conduct. This state of control was extremely disagreeable to Pirch, who, to get rid of it, feigned illness; but his complaints were not believed. One day, therefore, during exercise, he filled his mouth with a red liquid, which he suddenly ejected, exclaiming: "Good God! I have burst a blood-vessel!" The surgeon of the regiment, who hastened to his assistance, was deceived. Still the king, when the circumstance was mentioned to him by the general, observed: "Pirch is a sly

fellow; he is imposing upon you; 'tis all deception." But Pirch continued ill, pretended to be unfit for further service, and solicited his dismission, which the king delayed granting for several months. Frederick, however, was quite right. From that moment Pirch was well and hearty, and the king thereupon observed to Saldern: "You see that I knew my man better than you did."

Pirch then went to Paris, and entered the French service with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He proposed to introduce the Prussian tactics among the French troops; he met, however, with nothing but envy and obstacles. The regiment of Hesse-Darmstadt, which he commanded, was enthusiastically attached to him. He died as colonel, in 1783, in the camp near St. Mary, in Spain, in consequence of a wound received in a duel; and, not being allowed as a Protestant to be interred in consecrated ground, he was buried behind his tent, where his regiment erected a monument over his remains.

CHAPTER XLVII.

The King's Associates and Friends—General Seydlitz—Fouqué—Quintus Icilius—Pöllnitz—General Krockow—Zieten—Lentulus—Schwerin—Count Hoditz—General Anhalt—D'Alembert—Voltaire.

During this latter portion of his life, the king was destined to see each succeeding year reduce the circle of his friends, associates, fellow-soldiers, and correspondents. The amiable Algarotti, who lived long enough to witness Frederick's final triumph, died, as we have seen, in 1764; Sir Andrew Mitchell and d'Argens in 1771; lord Marischal in 1778; and his sister, the queen of Sweden, in 1782. The countess Camas, who was identified with the king's earliest recollections, carried with her to the grave, in 1766, his most especial esteem as an ornament of her sex, and the confidante of the queen. Baron Bielfeld, who witnessed the youthful enthusiasm of the prince for freemasonry, who afterwards served his new country in the diplomatic line, and also as preceptor to prince Ferdinand and curator of the Academy of Sciences, died in 1770, in retirement at his seat in the principality of Altenburg.

The landgravine Caroline of Darmstadt, mother-in-law of the prince of Prussia, the grand-duke Paul, and the duke of Weimar, died in 1774, a few months after her return from Berlin. Frederick esteemed this princess most highly on account of her extraordinary qualifications and accomplishments. He was deeply grieved at her premature decease; in a letter to baron Riedesel, he called her the ornament and admiration of her age, and,

in 1775, dedicated to her, in the palace garden at Darmstadt, a simple marble monument—an urn with the expressive inscription: FEMINA SEXU, INGENIO VIR.

The marquis de Valori, to whom, when French ambassador in Berlin, the king conceived a very strong attachment, died in France in 1775. When this event was communicated to him by the chargé d'affaires, Frederick, in his reply, says: "Tell his grandchildren, in my name, that I am grieved even to tears, and that I exhort them to follow his example."

A deep impression was made upon the king in the same year by the death of count Schmettau, a distinguished officer, and the last of his associates in the Silesian wars. He had been most undeservedly in disgrace with the king on account of the surrender of Dresden in 1759; though it is said that they were reconciled at last.

Others of the tried and the true, who had heroically stood by Frederick in his desperate seven years' struggle for life and death, dropped off in succession: Seydlitz in 1773; Fouqué in 1774; Quintus Icilius in 1775; Krockow in 1778; Zieten in January, and Lentulus, a few months after the king, in December, 1786.

Frederick William von Seydlitz, born in 1722 at Cleves, lost his father, who was captain of horse, when but eight years old. At this early age, he gave tokens of his future qualification for a cavalry leader by riding between the revolving sails of a windmill. At twelve, he entered as page into the service of the margrave of Brandenburg-Schwedt, and in 1738 was appointed cornet in his dragoon-regiment. In one of the battles during the first Silesian war, his horse was killed, and he was taken prisoner: this circumstance contributed to his future pro-

motion. Soon afterwards, at a review in Berlin, in 1743, he loudly declared to his comrades that nobody should have taken him if his horse had not been killed; and that it was only in this case that he could forgive a cavalry officer for being made prisoner. The king happened to be riding past at the moment. With a view to reprove such boasting in a delicate manner, he ordered young Seydlitz to cross the bridge over the Spree with a detachment. He had scarcely reached the middle of it, when Frederick suddenly exclaimed: "You are my prisoner!" —"I?" cried Seydlitz, and, clapping spurs to his horse, leaped into the river, and swam across it. The king immediately promoted the cornet to be captain of hussars.

In the second Silesian war, he was attached to a partisan corps, distinguished himself in various ways, took prisoner the Saxon general Schlichting at Hohenfriedberg, and was wounded at Sorr. He was promoted to a majority in 1745. After the peace, he was remarkable for the assiduity which he displayed in re-organizing his squadron; in like manner, he organized a dragoon regiment at Treptow, and a cuirassier regiment at Ohlau; and, in 1755, at the age of 33, Frederick appointed him colonel and commander of the latter. The eminent services which he rendered during the war that immediately ensued, and the rapid promotion and extraordinary distinctions gained by him in consequence, are recorded in their proper places in the third volume of this work.

After the peace, Seydlitz was appointed inspector of all the Silesian cavalry, and his regiment at Ohlau was considered as a pattern for all Europe. In 1767, he became general of cavalry, and as such he died, in 1773, from the effects of wounds, and of the fatigues and hard-

ships incident to the military profession. In the later years of life, he repeated the feats of his youth, and rode as a general, just as he had done when page, between the sails of a windmill while going round: his attendants immediately followed his example. One day, taking a ride in the environs of Ohlau, he observed a nondescript sort of vehicle wending its way very slowly through the sand. It was occupied by a country clergyman and his wife. Seydlitz looked for a few moments at this carriage, the forepart of which stood forward, so as to leave a considerable space between the body and the seat of the driver: then, clapping spurs to his horse, he leaped over that part of the vehicle. All his retinue of course followed, to the no small terror of those who were in it, but who sustained no injury.

On horseback, Seydlitz feared no danger: he strove to overcome not to shun it. Numerous accidents happened: regardless of them, he considered them as sacrifices which the military profession imposes even in time of peace. "Seydlitz," said the king to him one day, "how happens it that so many of your men break their necks?"—"Your majesty has only to command," replied the general, "and such accidents shall not occur again. But then it will not be my fault if the regiment proves inefficient against the enemy." On another occasion, when the wife of Schlaberndorf, the minister, was expressing her apprehensions lest her son should meet with an accident from the reckless riding of which she heard with horror, Seydlitz comforted her with these words: "Your excellency may be quite easy on that score: you may fling a cornet and a cat from a church-steeple, and they will be sure not to break their necks."

Honour was the ruling passion of this chivalrous war-

rior, and on this point he did not allow Frederick himself to make too free. When the king, in a fit of ill-humour, said to him one day: "You have always a spur too many" — an expression implying that a person is half-cracked or crazy — Seydlitz immediately pulled off one of his spurs, and was never afterwards seen with two.

In the year 1782, when the model for the statue which the king erected to the memory of the general in the Wilhelms-Platz in Berlin was shown to him, he surveyed it with sorrowful look, and said: "I should like all my cavalry to come on pilgrimage to the shrine of this centaur saint."

Henry Augustus, baron de la Motte Fouqué, born at the Hague, in 1698, commenced life as page to the prince of Dessau. Having distinguished himself in the campaign in Pomerania, he was rewarded with the order de la Generosité, and a captaincy in the regiment of his patron. We have seen how he acquired the friendship of Frederick when prince-royal, during his confinement at Cüstrin, and that he was one of his intimate associates at Rheinsberg. He had attained the rank of major, in 1738, when a misunderstanding with the prince of Dessau induced him to quit the Prussian service and to enter that of Denmark as lieutenant-colonel. On Frederick's accession to the throne, however, he returned to Prussia, was promoted to colonel, and distinguished himself in the Silesian wars.

During the seven years' war, having a separate command in Silesia, he armed part of the peasants in the county of Glatz, whom he attached as scouts to the cordon, formed along the frontier. The king, not aware of this arrangement of his general's, was one day riding

with Seydlitz along the frontiers, and perceived at a distance a body of these men, whom he took for Austrians. Seydlitz was of a different opinion. On coming up to them, they found to their surprise that they were peasants. "Are you Prussian?" asked the king. "No," was the reply. "Are you Austrian?"—"No, nor Austrian."—"Well, and what are you, then?"—"We are Fouquéan."—"Aha!" said Frederick, laughing, and turning to Seydlitz; "now you hear who is king of this country."

Not long afterwards, as we have seen, he had the misfortune to be made prisoner by the Austrians. By the reduction of Glatz, which soon followed, Fouqué lost all that he possessed; and, while the war lasted, the Austrian government refused to exchange him: indeed, the empress endeavoured, but in vain, to induce him to enter her service.

When the peace put an end to his captivity in Croatia, he returned to Silesia, and, on his arrival at Glatz, in April, 1763, found there a present in money and old Hungarian wine, and an invitation from his royal friend to Potsdam. Here, for several weeks, he forgot all past tribulations, and then went to Brandenburg, where the king conferred on him the lucrative place of prebendary of the cathedral. He also gave him 5000 dollars, to purchase a house, furniture, and all that he required to render the remainder of his life comfortable. Frederick cheerfully granted the permission which he solicited to retire thither for good. "But," he wrote, "you must come now and then to see me; it is not far, and if you will but let me know when you are coming, I will send my horses half-way to meet you." Oranges and other

choice fruit were sent to Fouqué from Sans-Souci and Charlottenburg, and supplies of the oldest and most generous wines, with other presents, all to recruit his impaired health. When he was no longer able to travel, Frederick visited him, or passed the night at his house when he occasionally passed through Brandenburg; and nothing more affecting was ever witnessed than the meetings of the two veterans. At length, when, towards the conclusion of his life, Fouqué lost his hearing, his royal friend made him comprehend by means of a machine, and the great monarch had the patience to communicate in that roundabout way with his valued servant.

When they were prevented from meeting, they made amends by correspondence. "Very often," the old general once wrote, "I consider and ask myself, what motives must this great king, this amiable sovereign, have for loading me with so many favours; nay, more, for having, for above thirty years, honoured me with his constant friendship. Forgive this expression, sire, but I know nothing more precious, more glorious, for me. My self-love is too much flattered by it, and so I lose myself in the idea, without finding the reason that entitles me to such manifest advantages: for, how excellent soever a judge you, sire, may be of the characters of men, you cannot always see the recesses of my heart, which alone would be sufficient to satisfy me, as it is not in my power to make you acquainted in any other way with the nature of my feelings."

On the 24th of February, 1766, the king wrote to him as follows—"I see, my dear friend, that you need something strengthening. A few days since, we tried

some old Hungarian wine of my grandfather's, and found it excellent. I set aside a bottle, which I send to you; it is the last, and I hope that it will do you good."

"You live too solitary," wrote Frederick to his old friend on another occasion; "you ought to have company every day; your windows should be adorned with pots of flowers, and you should have little dogs frisking about to amuse you."

In January, 1769, the king sent him some acoustic machines, and Fouqué wrote in reply—"The two largest answer their purpose. I shall make trial of them at church, and at the same time pray for the welfare of my illustrious benefactor."

Fouqué was not only an intelligent, active general and most scrupulous in the performance of his duty, but a man of the highest honour and integrity, and possessing a cultivated mind. His way of thinking, however, on the most important points did not coincide with the king's: for Fouqué was a sincere professor of the Christian religion. The king respected these convictions, and in his letters to him there is not an allusion that could have given offence to his friend, who made no secret of his religious impressions; and, when he was visiting the king, he never missed attending public worship.

Beloved and valued by his king, the veteran expired on the 3d of May, 1774; he was at that time the oldest of Frederick's friends, and it is easy to conceive how painfully this loss afflicted him. The "Memoires de Baron de la Motte Fouqué," in two volumes, published at Berlin, in 1788, contain his correspondence with the

king. His life has also been written by his grandson, Frederick de la Motte Fouqué, a fertile German writer, chiefly of fiction, who is better known to foreigners by his ingenious and beautiful tale, "Undine," than by any other of his productions.

Charles Gottlieb Guichard, born in 1724, at Magdeburg, was the son of a manufacturer of earthenware, studied divinity, and afterwards the ancient and also the oriental languages at Leyden and Herborn. In 1747 he entered as ensign into the Dutch service, and advanced to captain, but quitted the army to prosecute his literary inquiries concerning the military system of the ancients, and went to England. Here he wrote his "Memoires militaires sur les Grecs et les Romains," published at the Hague, in 1758, in two 4to volumes, and sent the work to Frederick, at the same time expressing a wish to enter his service. The king formed so favourable an opinion of his talents that he complied with his desire, and Guichard arrived in February, 1758, at Breslau. He made the campaign of that year, as captain, in the retinue of the king, who soon took a great liking to him on account of his literary attainments. One day, the conversation happened to turn on the battle of Pharsalia, and the noble deed of Quintus Icilius, whom Frederick called Quintus Cæcilius. Guichard ventured to correct his mistake. When the king had convinced himself that he was wrong, he declared, laughing, that Guichard should thenceforward be called Quintus Icilius; and even in military orders and other public documents he was never mentioned by any other appellation.

As major of a partisan battalion, he made the cam-

paigns of 1759 and 1760; and he executed the commissions assigned to him with such ability that the king directed him to raise at Leipzig a partisan regiment of three battalions and seven other battalions of the same kind of force.

When the war was over, Frederick wished the major to marry a rich wife, and caused a wealthy old widow to be proposed to him; but Quintus had already given his affections to a poor but accomplished and handsome young lady, of the ancient and noble family of Schlaberndorf. The king refused his consent to this match, and said one day at table in an ill-humour to the major: "Only think, a beggarly potter has lately asked my permission to marry a lady belonging to one of the most ancient of our noble families."—"I see nothing extraordinary in that," replied Quintus, who knew that the stroke was aimed at himself; "we are all made of the same clay; and if my father was a potter, your majesty is a potter too"—alluding to the porcelain manufactory in Berlin, which belonged to the king. Nettled, however, at the expression, he solicited his dismission the same day; but the king threw aside his petition, and took no notice of it. Irritated still more at this treatment, he carefully abstained from appearing at the king's table, to which he had a general invitation, and avoided meeting him at other times.

Shortly before this occurrence, Quintus had been commissioned to purchase in Italy the Antinous, a fine antique, for the king. The bargain was concluded, and the statue arrived at Potsdam. The major acquainted the king with the circumstance, and inquired in writing where it was to be delivered. "I am very glad," replied

Frederick, "to learn that the statue of Antinous is at length arrived. I now expect you to deliver it to me, and to fix upon the spot where it is to be placed, as nobody is better qualified to do so than yourself." An interview with the king was now unavoidable; Quintus accordingly had the statue conveyed to the palace, and delivered it to his majesty. Frederick received him most kindly, and highly approved the choice of the spot where he proposed that it should be placed, adding: "I am much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken." At the same time he put a paper into his hand—it was the consent to his marriage. Thenceforward he enjoyed the uninterrupted intimacy of the king, who severely felt the loss of this literary friend when he died in 1775, at his country seat, Wassersuppe (Water-gruel), near Rathenau.

Numerous anecdotes relating to the intercourse of Quintus Icilius with his royal patron are on record: I shall not apologize for quoting one or two of them.

In the early part of his acquaintance with Frederick, when he still went by the title of aulic councillor (*Hofrath*), he was taking a ride one day with the king, when they chanced to meet a clergyman mounted on a fine spirited horse, which he sat uncommonly well. "Only see, Quintus," said Frederick, "how consequential yon parson looks on his bit of blood. Go to him and humble his pride a little." Quintus did not need bidding twice. He rode up to the clergyman. "How is it, sir," said he, "that you are riding such a fine horse, while your lord and master was content with an humble ass?"—"So should I be too," rejoined the witty son of the church, "only his majesty has since made all the

asses aulic councillors, so that now there is not one to be got."

Though the king, in the early part of his reign, purchased the Polignac collection, and contributed to stamp a value on antiques of that kind, he seems, at a later period, to have been aware of the real worth of such objects, and to have taken a pleasure in mystifying the virtuosi, among whom Quintus Icilius played a conspicuous part.

One day, when this officer was dining at the royal table, word was brought that two labouring men urgently desired to speak with the king, and would not take any denial. Frederick ordered them to be admitted. They were ushered into the dining-room in their working apparel soiled with dirt, and the spokesman handed to the king some ancient coins, saying that he and his partner had found them while digging a ditch. Frederick looked at the coins and expressed his surprise. "They are Roman," said he, "and, if I am not mistaken, of the time of Drusus. But," continued he, turning to Quintus, "how, in all the world, could these coins have come hither? You are a great connoisseur of coins; I should like you to investigate this matter thoroughly." With these words he handed him the coins, telling him that he must not think of going to Berlin, but make his inquiries at once in Sans-Souci. The major raised objections, but to no purpose. "You must absolutely stay here," said the king, "till you have finished your researches; any books you want you can order to be brought you; the subject interests me exceedingly; and if I were to let you go, you would postpone the inquiry, and then I might have to wait nobody knows how long."

Quintus now set about his task, had a great number of books brought for reference and quotation, and produced a learned paper, in which he proved that, contrary to the general opinion, the Romans, or at least a few of their cohorts under Drusus, had actually crossed the Elbe, that they had indisputably been accustomed to receive their pay in the environs of Potsdam, but that, on one of these occasions, probably owing to a sudden retreat, the coins in question were doubtless left behind and lost. Satisfied with the result of his investigation, he delivered his memoir to the king. Frederick hastily ran through it. "My dear Quintus Icilius," he then said with a sarcastic smile, "I am sorry that you have thrown away so much critical acumen on this subject. The coins which I put into your hands were not found near Potsdam, but belong to your own collection, from which I had them secretly abstracted. You now know the reason why I insisted that your memoir should be written here in Sans-Souci. I am vexed at the waste of such pains and labour; but you will now admit, from your own experience, that I am right in not attaching so much value to many literary investigations as you are apt to do."

The king disliked exceedingly that any one who had petty sums to disburse for him should hand him an account of them; and, to such persons as had expenses of this kind to defray on his behalf, he was accustomed to make annually a proportionable present in money. Thus Quintus, who carried on correspondence for his majesty, and had frequently to order books and other things for him, had regularly a new year's gift of 2000 dollars: and he reckoned upon this present with such confidence

that he sometimes borrowed money by anticipation upon it. One new year's eve, a messenger from his sister at Potsdam arrived in Berlin to bring back part of this sum on the following day, for the purpose of paying some very importunate creditors. Quintus went as usual in the morning to congratulate the king, making sure that his majesty would hand him the customary four rouleaus of one hundred frederics-d'or each; when the king replied: "So handsome a wish deserves a handsome present. Look you, with this," he continued, taking out of a drawer a new clothes-brush, "you may brush and keep yourself clean, without having occasion to let any one else come near you." The mortification of the receiver may easily be imagined; but the usual present of 2000 dollars followed in about a week.

It may be proper to add that, in his first publication, which I have already mentioned, as well as in his "Memoires critiques et historiques sur plusiers points d'Antiquités militaires," this writer has corrected a great number of errors committed by the celebrated chevalier Folard.

In 1801 the only son of Quintus Icilius fell in a duel, near Wesel, at the age of twenty-eight years.

Baron Pöllnitz, being a man utterly destitute of principle, could not have been Frederick's friend, but, as an agreeable companion, he was nevertheless one of the constant associates of the king, as he had been of his father. If Frederick William took delight in making court-fools of unfortunate individuals, and a smoking club of the Academy, his son's ideas of the moral worth of man were too high to suffer him to approve or justify such a proceeding. Pöllnitz was the only one who, as

an incorrigible *roué*, was often obliged to put up with things which savoured of the buffooneries of the preceding reign. In the expectation of making a rich match at Nürnberg, the baron, in 1744, applied to the king for his dismission, which Frederick granted in the following terms:

"We, Frederick, &c. &c., hereby declare and make known, that baron Pöllnitz, a native of Berlin, and, as far as we know, descended from honest parents, gentleman of the chamber to our late grandfather of blessed memory, also in the service of the duchess of Orleans, in the like capacity, colonel in the Spanish service, captain in the army of the late emperor, cameriere to the Pope, chamberlain to the duke of Brunswick, ensign in the service of the duke of Weimar, chamberlain in the service of our late father of happy memory; finally, and lastly, chief master of the ceremonies in ours; finding himself overwhelmed by the torrent of the honourable military appointments and high court dignities, poured forth one after another upon his person, having become in consequence weary of the world, and being seduced by the example of Montaulieu, the chamberlain, who ran away from the court not long before him, he, namely, the said baron Pöllnitz, has most humbly solicited and petitioned us to grant him an honourable dismission, for the maintenance of his good name and reputation. As we, on considering his request, have not thought it right to refuse the testimonials of his good conduct which he has solicited, on account of the important services which he has rendered to our royal court by his jokes and his pleasantries, and the amusement which, for nine years, he afforded to our late father; we have

no scruple to declare that, during the whole of the time he has been in our service, he has not been either highwayman, pickpocket, or poisoner; that he has neither run away with virgins nor done them violence, nor grossly insulted any one's honour, but always behaved like a galant man, consistently with his origin, and always made a suitable use of the gifts which Heaven has bestowed upon him, namely, to attain the end which is aimed at by the drama, and consists in representing the foibles of men in a ludicrous light in order to correct them.

"In like manner he has always most punctually followed the advice of Bacchus, in regard to temperance and abstinence, and carried christian charity so far as invariably to leave to the peasants the practice of the gospel precept: To give is better than to receive. He still has an accurate recollection of all the anecdotes of our palaces and country seats, and in particular has deeply imprinted upon his memory a complete catalogue of all our old household furniture; and, for the rest, he knew how to make himself agreeable and useful to those who were not acquainted with the malignity of his disposition and his want of goodness of heart.

"Furthermore, we give to the said baron the testimony that he never excited us to anger, unless when, impudently transgressing the bounds of respect, he sought in an unworthy and unbearable manner to profane and to dishonour the ashes of our glorious ancestors.

"As, however, barren and desolate spots are to be found in the finest countries, the most beautiful bodies have their deformities, and the pictures of the greatest

masters are not without defects; we forgive the aforesaid baron his frailties and faults, and grant him, though reluctantly, the solicited dismission; and we shall wholly abolish and abrogate the office that was held by him, in order that the memory of it may be wholly extinguished among men, deeming that, after the said baron, no man whatever is worthy to be invested with it."

Pöllnitz left Berlin, and, as the lady whom he hoped to marry was a Catholic, he had no scruple to add apostacy to the good qualities enumerated by his royal patron, and turned papist. This change, however, proved of no advantage to him, for the match was broken off, after the lady had made further inquiries concerning him. Without money, without prospects, and beset by creditors, Pöllnitz returned to the flesh-pots of Egypt, and begged the king to re-instate him in his former post, intimating that he was resolved to embrace the Protestant religion again. Frederick, disgusted by this impudent trifling with the highest and holiest concern of man, replied: "Whether you are Reformed, Catholic, or Lutheran, is matter of indifference to me. Only on one condition will I take you again into my service, and that is, that you get circumcised."

Twice did Pöllnitz, with a view to temporal advantage, forsake the Protestant religion in which he had been brought up for the Catholic, and twice return to it, before he became a Papist for the third time. He again fixed his residence in Berlin, and, though he does not appear to have afterwards held any office about the court, he was, no doubt, pensioned by the king, at whose table he was a constant guest. He died in 1775,

and his place was not readily supplied, though Frederick wrote on occasion of his death to Voltaire: "Pöllnitz est mort comme il a vecu, en friponnant encore la veille de son décès." He wrote in the French language several works, and was the reputed author of others, which throw light on the history of his times, and had an extensive circulation. The most noted of these are, "La Saxe galante," and "Histoire Secrète de la Duchesse d'Hanovre, épouse de George I., roi de la Grande Bretagne." His "Memoirs of the Four last Sovereigns of the house of Brandenburg" were not published till many years after his death.

Antony Krockow was born in 1714, at Poltzin, in Pomerania, and had been 23 years in the French service, when, at the beginning of the seven years' war, he was recalled as his subject by the king, and entered that of Prussia, with the rank of colonel. If he became a general who was to be relied on in the field, he proved himself to be in peace an equally polished, intelligent, and agreeable companion. He frequently conversed with the king on the institutions of France, and in some suggestions of his originated the idea of adopting the system pursued there for the collection of the Prussian revenue, and of employing French agents in that branch of the administration. It is not surprising that a man of his stamp should have inspired the king with a warm and permanent attachment. Frederick was fond of having the general about him as often and as long as he could, and was constantly inviting him with all sorts of flattering expressions, whenever he could be spared from his regiment of dragoons in Silesia, or from his Pomeranian estates. In January, 1776, he wrote to

him from Potsdam: "My dear lieutenant-general Krockow, I shall be very glad if, before you go back [from Poltzen] to your regiment, you would call here, and I will expect you." With his own hand, he added, in French: "I have been very ill, *mon cher*; you will find me mending, but I only hobble yet; I cannot walk." In January, 1777, he writes: "I shall be gratified if you will come soon to me at Potsdam:" and in June, the same year: "You might surely spend a few days with mè, which, on your application, shall not be denied you."

Krockow was honoured by his sovereign with the order of the Black Eagle, in 1773, and died in 1778, at Landeshut.

After the death of Winterfeld, Zieten enjoyed the uninterrupted favour of the king, who treated him with the kindest attention as long as he lived. After the peace the old general married again, and on the birth of a son in 1764, the king went to Berlin expressly to stand sponsor for the infant, appointed him cornet in Zieten's hussars, and made the mother a present of four costly silver girandoles. The queen and the court attended the christening.

During the seven years' war, the king one cold night had seated himself with his grenadiers near a fire. Zieten came up and clapped himself upon a block of wood. Both being much fatigued, fell asleep; but Frederick opened his eyes from time to time, and perceived that Zieten had slipped off his seat. A grenadier put a piece of wood under his head, and Frederick said: — "That's right! the old man is tired!" Soon afterwards another grenadier started up half asleep, and, in

going to the fire to light his pipe, stumbled against Zieten's foot. The king suddenly raised himself, and, lifting his finger in a threatening attitude, said in a low tone: — "Gently, grenadier, don't disturb my poor Zieten; he is very weary." On another occasion, the old general had dozed off at the king's table. One of the company would have waked him, but Frederick said:—"Let him sleep: he has watched often enough for us!"

On the breaking out of the Bavarian succession war, Frederick left the old general behind, much against his will, because he was evidently past service. In 1780 Zieten begged to be excused from appearing on the first day of the reviews with the heavy eagle's wings attached to the hussar cap, and the tiger-skin over his shoulders. "It will certainly be gratifying to me," replied the king, "to see at the approaching review a general who has so highly distinguished himself in my service, even in advanced years, at the head of the regiment committed to his charge; and I am, therefore, quite content that you should appear without tiger-skin and eagle's wings, merely in your pelisse. But, if it should be too cold, I beseech you to spare your health, and rather not come to the ground at all, lest you should needlessly bring on an illness, or do yourself harm by too great zeal in the service. When a man has served with glory so long as you have done, he has a right on such occasions to avail himself without scruple of the privileges of a veteran among the Romans."

At the end of 1784, when the king had gone to Berlin as usual for the carnival, Zieten, then 86 years old, came to the palace at the moment of giving the pa-

role. "There is my old Zieten!" cried Frederick, as soon as he perceived him, adding as he approached nearer:—"I am sorry you have taken the trouble to come up so many steps: I would gladly have gone down to you. And how is your health?"—"Good, your majesty," replied the veteran; "I have still a good appetite, but I feel that my strength is declining."—"I am glad to hear the first. But, standing will fatigue you. A chair!" An aide-de-camp brought one. Zieten would have declined it, assuring the king that he was not tired. But Frederick insisted on his taking the chair, repeatedly saying:—"Be seated, father Zieten, be seated, or I must go away, for I am determined not to incommode you." Zieten at last complied; the king assisted him to sit down, and continued standing a considerable time conversing with him, and inquiring about his concerns. At length he retired, saying:—"Take care not to catch cold. Preserve your life as long as age will permit, that I may often enjoy the pleasure of meeting you again."

On New Year's Day the old general complimented the king in writing. Frederick immediately replied:—"I feel the full value of your kind new year's wish, and thank you for it most sincerely. The constant object of my wishes for you is the recruiting of your strength by an uninterrupted enjoyment of health and pleasure, and its fulfilment will ever tend to my highest satisfaction."

When the king was informed of the decease of his old companion in arms, whom he survived but a few months, he appeared during the whole day extremely grave but composed. Several generals who came to him abstained

from any allusion to the event. The aged monarch, however, observed: — "Our old Zieten has shown himself a general, even in his death. In war he always commanded the advanced guard; and in death he has gone before. I led the main army; I shall follow him. Many of you gentlemen led the rear-guard: you will follow us both!"

Rupert Scipio Lentulus, born at Vienna in 1714, entered into the Austrian service, was aide-de-camp to Neipperg, and captain when the Prussians took Prague during the second Silesian war. His conduct on this occasion procured him, as we have seen, the notice of the king, into whose service he entered after the conclusion of peace. He was promoted to a majority, and created a baron. In 1748 Frederick married him to Mariane, countess of Schwerin, daughter of the minister of state, and lady of honour to his queen. Both king and queen attended the festivities given on the occasion; nay, the former celebrated the event in a poem, which, together with a Swiss cheese of extraordinary dimensions, was delivered to him by thirteen Swiss, handsomely dressed in the costume of their country. During the whole of the seven years' war, he was in high favour with the king. After the battle of Leuthen, Frederick made him a present of 1,000 dollars, and after the battle of Zorndorf, he expressed his thanks by drinking his health. In 1767 he appointed him lieutenant-general, in 1768 governor of Neufchatel, and gave him the order of the Black Eagle. After serving in the war of the Bavarian succession, he quitted the army in 1779, and retired to Switzerland. In the flower of life he was a very hand-

some man, amiable, polished, clever, master of several languages, and withal an excellent officer.

As soon as Lentulus heard that Zieten had opened the grand march as advanced guard, he prepared to follow, and actually did follow, to use his own expression, "as the king's rear-guard," on the 26th of December, 1786, at his seat Monrepos, in the canton of Berne. He had attended Frederick in his journeys ever since 1745, fought by him in his campaigns, and retained a strong attachment to him after he had retired from his service.

General Schwerin, who was master of the horse to the king, was one of Frederick's intimate associates, and much about him towards the end of his life. The king often joked with him. When he had gone to join the army on the breaking out of the Bavarian succession war, he wrote thus to Schwerin: — "My horses and I throw ourselves at the feet of your excellency, and implore the continuance of your good graces and favour. Your excellency will see that I have left Breslau, so that it is only my mules who will now engage your attention."

In the last years of his life, Frederick one day gave him a significant intimation how little he relished flattery. He was walking in the gardens of Sans-Souci with Schwerin, when the latter assured the king that he walked so fast that he could hardly keep up with him. Frederick pretended not to hear him, and made no answer. After a while the master of the horse again said: —"Indeed, your majesty walks at such a rate, that I cannot keep up with you any longer." — "Well, then," rejoined Frederick, "you shall soon be relieved from

that difficulty." He then called two heyducks, and ordered them to bring a sedan-chair. Schwerin was obliged to seat himself in it, and was carried about, very much against his will, for an hour together, while the king walked by his side.

Schwerin was, as we shall see hereafter, one of the chosen few, whom the king summoned to be about him during the last weeks of his life.

Among the friends whom Frederick had near him in his latter years, count Hoditz is too remarkable a character to be omitted. Thiébault, indeed, has given such an account of the almost romantic adventures of this nobleman, as cannot be perused without interest; and, though he cannot always be relied on for accuracy in details, yet, as Preuss, when he mentions the count, has not questioned the authenticity of what Thiébault says concerning him, I shall not hesitate to lay it before the reader.

He tells us that it was during the seven years' war, and after raising the siege of Olmütz, that the king paid his first visit incognito to Hoditz at his mansion at Rosswald in Moravia. I should think it more likely to have been during the leisure left him by the siege that Frederick took this trip; for, after he was forced to raise it, he was fully occupied by the preparations for his retreat through Bohemia to Silesia.

The widowed margravine of Bayreuth, aunt to the king, had married count Hoditz, who, after her death, continued to reside at his lordship of Rosswald. He was a man of highly original character. The king, who had never seen him, resolved to pay him a visit, flattering himself with the hope that he should not be recog-

nized. Having put himself at the head of that corps which had to march through the mountains of Moravia, he reached with it the heights of Rosswald. Thence he proceeded in the uniform of a Prussian officer, followed by a single attendant to the mansion, where he was received with great politeness. He was soon engaged with the count in a conversation, which seemed to afford him much pleasure. Hoditz soon perceived that the stranger was particularly interested by every thing that related to the deceased margravine, and therefore proposed to him to go and see her tomb, which was in a part of his park that he called the Elysian Fields. The king assented, and committed himself to the conduct of his host. Proceeding through the park, they were just going to cross a bridge, when Frederick saw upon the water a firework, and in it the words: *Vive Frederic le Grand!* He now knew that he was discovered; and, being at a considerable distance from his camp, on the domain of an Austrian subject, he became thoughtful, and it was easy to perceive that he feared he had been too venturous.

The count had indeed discovered who he was; and no sooner did he remark the change in the king's manner, than he strove to dispel his apprehensions. He proposed to his guest to go back to the house, and ushered him into a room, where they two were alone. Here, still respecting his incognito, he addressed him as follows: "You seem alarmed, sir, but your secret is safe, and I earnestly beg you not to have any doubt of me. Have the goodness to listen to me for a moment. I am, it is true, a natural subject of the house of Austria; but I have long been out of its service. I will

never violate the laws of the country, neither will I intermeddle in political matters. In this respect, I am a cosmopolite, and as completely such as a man of honour can possibly be. You, sir, are a Prussian, and fight for your country. I respect you the more for that. Your country and that in which I was born are indeed at war; but what then! You perform your duties, and I live according to my inclinations. For the rest, both of us wish sincerely for peace. Indeed, I shall not puzzle my brains about the quarrel between the king of Prussia and the empress-queen. I know that sovereigns frequently regulate their actions by reasons which humble individuals like myself cannot appreciate. Why should I enter into a useless inquiry which of the two is in the right? I am content to limit my knowledge on this subject to two points: Frederick is, according to my conviction, one of the greatest men that ever lived; and Maria Theresa is a woman of the most respectable qualities and a great sovereign. There I stop; but the servants of both who call upon me shall be received with equal kindness. If, however, notwithstanding this assurance, you cannot place further confidence in me, I await your commands, and will instantly furnish you with all means for repairing whithersoever you please."

The frankness of this address set Frederick quite at ease; trusting to the integrity of his host, he passed the remainder of the day and the night at his house; and the next morning rejoined his army without accident.

The son of a wealthy nobleman, Hoditz, when a boy, was so ungovernable that his father could not manage

him, and therefore sent him to a school in a small neighbouring town, where, though only thirteen, he mastered all his companions by his strength and dexterity. He soon chose for his particular associate one of them who was as wild as himself. Not a day passed but both played the most extravagant pranks. Punishment was of no avail; they were incorrigible; and the master, in despair, knew not how to curb these two hair-brained youths. He resolved to try one more expedient. One fine summer-day, he informed his pupils that he should take a little jaunt with them into the country, but that the two lovers of mischief should be left at home as a punishment for their misbehaviour. The joyous caravan accordingly set out well provided with every thing requisite for the trip: but their two wild companions were left at home, safely locked up in a room at the top of the house. The key of their prison was delivered to a servant, with directions to give them a very scanty supper towards evening, but nothing else. The prisoners looked around them with great vexation. Young Hoditz, the more daring of the two, soon plucked up courage. "What!" said he, "shall we put up quietly with such treatment?"—"Certainly not," replied his fellow-captive. A scheme of revenge was soon devised, and no time lost in the execution.

The first thing they did was to call up the servant, whose business it was to wait upon them. "I'll tell you what," said young Hoditz: "we will give you a ducat apiece, if you will do what we want; if not, depend upon it, when we are let out, you shall get a sound thrashing every day. You have your choice. We want but little—some cords, a large strong nail, a couple of

swords, and a basin of blood."—"Good God! but what are you going to do with them?"—"That is nothing to you: we assure you we are not going to do any mischief to ourselves; so you may be quite easy." The servant, allured by the prospect of the ducats on the one hand, and intimidated by the threatened ill-usage on the other, yielded to their solicitations, and brought what they desired.

As it drew towards evening, when the master was expected to return with his pupils, Hoditz stripped off his clothes, and fastened the cords about his legs, body, and arms, in such a manner as to form a net which would support him when hung up in it. Then twisting one end of the cord loosely round his neck, he mounted a chair, and suspended himself from the nail which had been previously driven into the wall. The other scapegrace then posted himself at the window to watch for the return of the caravan. It soon appeared in sight: hastening from the window, he upset the chair, emptied the basin upon the floor, and laid himself down in the pool of blood, and the two swords near him. No sooner had the master entered the house than he desired the servant to see what the two prisoners were about. Faithful to his engagement, he hurried back, and reported the fatal catastrophe. All rushed instantaneously to the room where it had taken place, and sure enough one was hanging, and the other lying bathed in blood. "God in heaven!" exclaimed the horrified master, "these graceless boys must have quarrelled, and got to fighting; the big one has killed the other, and then hung himself for fear of punishment. What a disaster!" He sent immediately for a surgeon and the

police authorities, but none of these gentlemen were to be found. As the two boys seemed to be quite dead, the master resolved to leave every thing just as it was till morning; all retired from the room, and the door was carefully locked.

This was the moment which the actors in this sham tragedy had been waiting for. The one released himself forthwith from his cords; the other rose from amidst the blood. Making a ladder of the cords, they descended from the window, and then proceeded through the streets of the town, doing all sorts of mischief, and alarming the inhabitants. Next morning, the whole affair was publicly known. The schoolmaster, convinced that he could do nothing with the two madcaps, sent them back to their parents; and young Hoditz was placed under a private tutor till he had finished his education.

His father then sent him upon his travels, and on his return he was appointed chamberlain to the emperor Charles VI. In Vienna he began to spend very lavishly the fortune which he had inherited from his mother; and his disposition in youth accompanied him in manhood. His coachman had orders not to give way to any person whatever. One day, driving rapidly through the streets of Vienna, his speed was suddenly checked by an old-fashioned carriage, proceeding leisurely before him. He gave a nod to his coachman, who instantly understood his master's meaning, and drove with such violence against the ancient odd-looking vehicle as to upset it. The imperial chamberlain then ordered him to pull up, just that he might see what country quiz it was whom he had played this trick. What was his astonishment to see his own venenerable father clambering with difficulty

out of his overturned carriage! He had come to Vienna to pay his respects to the emperor, but chiefly to see what his son was about, as he had not written to him for a long time. Little did the old man anticipate this sort of meeting with him at the moment of his arrival. In spite of the humble apologies and excuses made by his son in all sincerity, he protested solemnly that he would never set eyes on him again.

The young chamberlain had soon run through all his property. He seemed, however, to be a favourite of Fortune's. Just at the moment when he was reduced to the greatest embarrassment, the dowager margravine of Bayreuth, who was still young and very rich, saw him; and admiring his fine manly person and his bold enterprising mind, she gave him her hand. He was now relieved from all his difficulties. Wild and intractable as he had been before, so tender and affectionate was he now to his consort—in short, a pattern for husbands. When she died, he had the abovementioned monument erected for her; and thither he repaired every Sunday with all his household to pay homage to her memory by the performance of dirges of his own composition.

Soon after his marriage, the margravine urged him to seek a reconciliation with his father. He was most willing to comply with the suggestion, and they wrote jointly to the exasperated old man. He addressed an answer to the margravine alone, in which he assured her, with a profusion of civil expressions, that he would not have any thing to do with his son. They then agreed to try in person to soften the incensed father. Accordingly, they set out for Rosswald with a prodigious train of coaches, baggage-waggons, and horsemen;

but, as they were forced to make very short days' journeys on account of all this retinue, the old count received timely intelligence of their approach. He immediately ordered all the avenues to his mansion to be barricaded, and even sent to his neighbours, desiring their assistance in case his son should manifest a disposition to storm the barricades.

The young count, knowing his father's character, advanced with military caution. He sent forward several armed men, belonging to the retinue of his consort, to Rosswald, with directions to make prisoners of some of his father's servants. They succeeded in seizing several of them, who had been despatched with letters to the neighbouring gentry. The contents of these letters and the reports of the prisoners made him thoroughly acquainted with his father's preparations. He nevertheless approached the mansion, but soon convinced himself that it was too well defended to be taken by means of a slight attack. Having some recollection from his boyhood of a private door leading out of a retired part of the park into the open country, he hastened thither, found it unguarded, ordered it to be broken open, gained possession of the park, then made a lodgment in the garden, and lastly in the lower part of the house.

His father, who was laid up with the gout, had nothing left for it but to retreat to the upper part of his mansion: there he barricaded himself afresh. Meanwhile the gate leading to the house was taken and opened, and the margravine drove up into the forecourt, where she was obliged to encamp for some hours, as there was not a room fit to receive her. At length, the count contrived to gain possession of some rooms in

the upper part of the mansion, where his father had entrenched himself, and to prepare them for his consort. Scarcely was the margravine installed in them, when the polite old gentleman sent a deputy to bid her welcome to his domain, and to present his respects to her; but, as for his son, he might go to the devil.

Overtures of peace were proposed, but the father was inexorable. For two months, despatches passed daily to and fro, but things continued on the old footing. The young count now resolved to try a stratagem. 'He sent word to his father that, finding he would not be reconciled, he had made up his mind to set out with his wife in three days; but he must be aware that he would subject himself to general censure if he suffered the margravine to depart without having seen her. On the following morning he should himself be absent, as he was going out on a hunting-party for the day; so that he might take advantage of this opportunity to pay a visit to the margravine, as common politeness required. This suggestion was favourably received.

Early next morning, the court rang with the noise of huntsmen and hounds, and the young count rode off with them. Soon afterwards the old gentleman, according to his direction, was carried in his easy chair to the margravine's apartment, and he was so fascinated by her amiable manners that the time flew rapidly away in the most agreeable conversation. All at once, he heard the sound of voices and the tramp of horses in the court: fearing, and not without reason, a surprise on the part of his son, he became quite fidgety, and desired to be carried back to his room. His servants were out of the way. In his alarm, he forgot his gout; he sprang from

his seat, and, to the astonishment of all, walked to his apartment, after having been deprived for years of the use of his feet. The young count found the empty chair in which his father had been sitting, and gave up all hopes of accomplishing his purpose. The day of departure was fixed, but the son would not go without taking leave of his father in writing. His note to him concluded with these words: "If the most earnest wish of my heart, to obtain pardon from my honoured father, is not fulfilled, at any rate I take with me the consolation of having cured you of the complaint by which you have been for so many years afflicted." The old gentleman was softened: "I see," said he, laughing, "that he is not to be altered. I must forgive his mad pranks. Let him come."

The reconciliation thus effected was permanent. Father and son lived on the best terms till the decease of the former. After that event, his successor spent immense sums—Guibert says three million florins—on the embellishment of Rosswald. He surrounded himself with actors, dancers, and singers, who however were trained from among his own serfs. He gave the most expensive *fêtes*. Frederick, on his way to meet the emperor Joseph at Neustadt in September, 1770, paid a second visit to the count at Rosswald, and in a letter which the king wrote soon afterwards to Voltaire, he says that Hoditz gave him on this occasion "the most elegant *fêtes* in the world."

Among the landscape-gardeners of the last century Hoditz had acquired a reputation that bordered on the marvellous. He contrived to personify in living forms all the fantasies of plastic art. All the vassals on his

domain were regularly trained to this purpose. He now exerted his utmost skill to exhibit to his royal guest all the charms of his elysian abode. There were fields enlivened by Arcadian shepherds and shepherdesses; and in the woods and the waters disported the gods and goddesses of ancient Fable. The buildings and their environs transported the spectator into the most distant zones; even Gulliver's tiny town of Lilliput was not omitted, its buildings and towers scarcely rising to the height of a man. Plays, waterworks, fireworks, and a thousand unexpected devices were employed to banish all idea of the prosaic realities of life.

After the death of the margravine, the count's finances became much deranged. He found means several times to recover himself, but with his princely expense it was only for a short period. At length, he became involved in a dispute on the subject with the archbishop and chapter of Olmütz, to whom, agreeably to ancient contract, the possession of Rosswald was to devolve if the count should die without issue; and he had none by his consort. Frederick acted as mediator in this quarrel; it was agreed that the archbishop should appoint a steward to manage the estate while the count lived, and that he should pay a certain annuity to the latter.

This compromise took place in 1776. The count was then 70 years old, and at Frederick's invitation he resolved to take up his abode at Potsdam, in order to be near the king. As he was suffering so severely from the stone that he could not possibly have performed the journey by land, the king had a vessel fitted up with three handsome rooms containing every possible convenience, in which the invalid was slowly but easily and

commodiously conveyed from Upper Silesia down the Oder to his destination. The street in which he lived at Potsdam was afterwards called by his name.

The king valued Hoditz for his Prussian sentiments, his never-failing flow of spirits, and his general knowledge. After the death of lord Marischal, he may be said to have succeeded to the place which that amiable nobleman held in the king's regard.

During the last century, there were few members of the princely family of Anhalt who had not distinguished themselves in the military annals of Russia. The names of the old Dessauer and two of his sons, Leopold and Maurice, must be familiar to the reader from their frequent occurrence in this history. Their elder brother, William Gustavus, had attained the rank of lieutenant-general at his death in 1737. He had married the daughter of a brewer of Dessau; she bore him six sons, on whom, as this union was what is called in Germany lefthanded, which disqualifies the issue of it to bear the father's title, the emperor conferred the rank of counts of the empire. All six sons entered the Prussian service, in which three of them fell during the seven years' war. By a daughter of superintendent-general Schardius, the prince was also father of two illegitimate sons, whose history is somewhat romantic, and deserves to be recorded here, as one of them became an object of Frederick's especial favour and confidence.

Henry William, the elder, born in 1734, at Gröbzig, near Radegast, in the principality of Dessau, was brought up as a plebeian; and when he was old enough, his father's brother, prince Maurice, took him as jäger, by the name of Wilhelmi. The youth gave indications of

good abilities, and was capable of making himself useful in various ways; on which account the prince, in 1756, solicited the king to give him a lieutenancy. His majesty complied; and Wilhelmi, whose origin was a profound secret, continued for four years in the retinue of the prince. When the latter quitted the army in 1759, he recommended his protégé to general Hülsen, acquainted him with his family connexions, and made him give his word of honour not to divulge the secret. Wilhelmi now accompanied his new patron to Saxony. Here Hülsen was engaged in an action with the Austrians, the successful issue of which appeared so important to the king, that he went himself to the general, surveyed the whole country, and directed one of his officers to make an accurate plan of it. Wilhelmi heard this order given, and requested the general to procure him permission to make a plan too. Frederick gave the desired permission, and Wilhelmi completed and furnished his plan before the engineer. The king was pleased with the performance, made inquiries concerning the young draughtsman, and ordered Hülsen to send Wilhelmi to him.

Hülsen was apprehensive lest this interview might lead to revelations that would compromise the word of honour which he had given, and said nothing to Wilhelmi, in hopes that the king would forget his order. In this, however, he was mistaken. Frederick perceived the young man at parade and addressed him. "Why did you not come to me yesterday, as I ordered?"—"I never heard of any such order, your majesty."—"Did not your general tell you?"—"Not a word, your majesty."—"Follow me."—The king led

Wilhelmi to his room, laid before him several plans, conversed a good deal with him, and, as he received precise answers, he at length asked if he thought he could copy those drawings. Wilhelmi replied in the affirmative, and the king gave him one of the plans to copy.

Wilhelmi could not help feeling a rising mistrust of the general for having suppressed the king's order, and he thought himself released on his part from the duty of communicating to him his conversation with the king and the commission which he had received. He sacrificed his night's rest in order to finish his work, and delivered it to the king, who looked at it with evident pleasure. "And who are you then?" asked Frederick. "Where do you come from?"—"Your majesty, my name is Wilhelmi, and I am a son of the late prince Gustavus of Dessau."—"What say you?" exclaimed the king, flinging the drawing upon the table—"you a son of prince Gustavus of Dessau? You will get yourself into a confounded scrape if that is not true."—"How could I presume to tell your majesty a falsehood?"—"Does your general know this?"—"Yes, your majesty."—"Well, tell your general I expect him to dine with me to-day."

The lieutenant delivered the king's message to Hülsen, but said not a word about any thing else, and the general went to dinner. "Do you know," asked Frederick, "where your lieutenant Wilhelmi comes from?" The question startled the general: he replied, "No, your majesty. Prince Maurice, with whom he was at first, recommended him to me."—"Then you really do not know where he comes from? If you don't know,

I will tell you—lieutenant Wilhelmi is a son of prince Gustavus's."

Hülsen was quite disconcerted. He confessed to the king all he knew, alleging that he had been bound by his word of honour. Frederick then desired that he would transfer that officer to him, and choose another for himself. Hülsen was very reluctant to comply, but his opposition was useless. On returning to his quarters, he upbraided Wilhelmi in the severest terms for having disclosed his origin to the king, and not informing him of his conversations with his majesty. "You, general," boldly replied the lieutenant, "suppressed the king's command that I should go to him, and when he asked me who I was and where I came from, I considered it a favourable opportunity for making my fortune. Why then should I not avail myself of it?"

Wilhelmi was now received into the king's retinue, promoted to be captain, in 1760, on the field of Liegnitz, and charged with the duty of quarter-master-general, in which capacity he rendered good services. He laid before the king a plan for the establishment of a light artillery corps, but could not be rewarded, because it was against all principle to confer higher military grades on commoners. "Hark you," said Frederick, one day to him, "in your present circumstances, you can do no good for yourself: I will ennoble you. What name will you take?" Wilhelmi chose the name of his birthplace, Gröbzig. "No, that is an ugly name. I'll tell you what, you shall be called von Anhalt; and, lest the princes of that house should raise an objection, apply to them for their consent." Wilhelmi obtained

it without difficulty, and carried it to the king. "Have you any brothers and sisters?" asked Frederick. "One brother, your majesty."—"Where is he?"—"At Offenbach."—"What is he?"—"He keeps a bath."—"How can a man be so stupid as to take up such a business! Write to him immediately and tell him to come."

Both brothers were now ennobled. William rose higher and higher in the favour of the king. After the peace, he was appointed chief adjutant-general in 1768; but, during the Bavarian succession war, fell into a short disgrace. In 1783 he became lieutenant-general and governor of Königsberg, and died at Ziesar in 1801. His brother Philip, who entered as lieutenant into the new-raised artillery corps, was pensioned off as major-general.

Frederick saw his two celebrated literary friends, Voltaire and d'Alembert, if the former deserves that appellation, descend to the grave before him. There was none who could boast of so long and so regular a correspondence with the king as these two, who were not less distinguished in their way than Frederick in his, and for both of whom he entertained an extraordinary esteem, though, in regard to character, the poet was far excelled by the philosopher.

Jean le Rond d'Alembert was born in Paris, in 1717. The illegitimate child of Destouches, the poet, and Madame de Tencin, he was exposed by his parents; but the infant seemed so weakly that the commissary of police, instead of sending him to the foundling hospital, placed him under the care of a poor glazier's wife. It is probable that the officer might have received private instructions to do so; for though d'Alembert's parents

never publicly acknowledged him, still his father in the sequel settled on him an annuity of 1200 livres. Educated at the Collège Mazarin, he devoted himself at an early age to the mathematics. On leaving college, he studied the law, and became an advocate; but still, though destitute of resources, he directed his especial attention to his favourite science. Admitted in 1741 into the Academy of Sciences in Paris, he gained, in 1746, by his Theory of the Winds, the prize of the Berlin Academy and a place in that body. His predilection for the mathematics somewhat cooled his earlier fondness for other sciences. With his introduction to the famous French Encyclopedie, which will for ever remain a model of luminous and classic composition, he struck into a new career. He there gave the substance of his mathematical, philosophical, and literary knowledge, acquired by the study of twenty years, and this was the substance of all that was then known on those subjects in France. He undertook the mathematical department of the Encyclopedie, and wrote for it himself a great number of excellent articles. He became a member of the French Academy, and now combined historical and other literary labours with his mathematical pursuits. His works were esteemed for their solidity and accuracy, and they are all distinguished by purity of style and energy of ideas.

The most eminent writer in Europe, next to Voltaire, d'Alembert, attracted the especial notice of Frederick; but though he had to endure at home slights and persecutions, on account of his participation in the Encyclopedie, still he could not be prevailed upon to accept either the king's invitations to settle in Berlin, or those

of the empress Catherine, who wrote to him with her own hand, offering him the post of preceptor to her son Paul.

It was from foreigners that his native country learned to appreciate d'Alembert; and when the Paris Academy of Sciences refused him a salary, the king of Prussia granted him, in 1754, a pension of 1200 livres. Frederick first saw him in the following year at Wesel; and in 1763 d'Alembert visited Berlin and passed a few weeks there; but though his lot at home was far from brilliant, and Frederick would have made him president of his Academy, he was too fond of independence to fix his abode in the Prussian capital. For more than thirty years he lived in the simplest manner with his foster-mother, and quitted that home only when obliged to do so on account of his health. His tender and permanent connexion with Mademoiselle l'Espinasse proved that he possessed a feeling heart. He shunned the society of the great, and sought the intercourse of such persons only with whom he could indulge all the cheerfulness and frankness of his disposition. In regard to religion, he appears to have been a cautious naturalist. He was afflicted with the stone, which, as he would not submit to an operation, put an end to his life in 1783.

Frederick corresponded diligently with d'Alembert, and both parties retained the highest regard for each other. Unlike Voltaire, he never lost sight of that respect which was due to the rank of his royal friend. "Many men have won battles," Frederick once wrote to him; "many have conquered whole countries; but few have produced so perfect a work as the introduction to the Encyclopedie." On the other hand, when d'Alembert

in his latter years reverted to his residence at Sans-Souci, his eye glistened and his language warmed. "People," he would say at such times, "know this king only by his exploits, and History will not be silent respecting them, but she will not tell what he was to the few who enjoyed his intimate society—how he delighted by racy wit, how he instructed by pure reason, how he shared all the joys and the sorrows of friendship, how fondly he loved and was beloved."

No passing cloud ever threw a coldness upon the mutual friendship of the king and d'Alembert: so much the more painfully was Frederick affected by the death of the philosopher. Voltaire, like the cat, from whose velvet paw are sometimes capriciously darted sharp claws to tear the hand that fondles her, was continually furnishing occasion for misunderstandings; but the penitent admissions of the admired poet always sufficed to effect a reconciliation. "For my part," wrote the king to him from Landeshut in April, 1759, I forgive you, on account of your genius, all the cabals and intrigues which you raised in Berlin, all the libels from Leipzig, and everything that you have said and printed against me; violent, malicious, and numerous as these attacks have been, I bear you not the least grudge." Voltaire occasionally reproaches the king with the alleged injustice that had been done him, and thus brings on himself very severe rebukes. "But," writes Frederick to him in June, 1759, is it not high time, in your seventieth year, that you should get a little discretion? Do learn in your old age the kind of tone that is becoming when you are writing to me. You ought to be aware that there are not only permitted freedoms, but also imperti-

nences which neither an author nor a bel esprit can put up with. Become at last philosophical, that is, rational. Heaven, which has conferred on you so much wit, grant you a like proportion of understanding! Then you would be the first man of the age, and perhaps the greatest that the world ever produced. This is what I wish you. Amen!"

Many such lessons might be quoted. "I know," writes the king, "that I worshipped you like an idol, before I knew your fondness for making mischief; but you have played me so many tricks. . . . . Let that pass, however; my christian heart has forgiven you all. Besides, you have conferred on me more pleasure than you have done me injury. The gratification I find in your works more than compensates the pain from your scratches. If you had no faults, mankind would be too much below you, and the world would have reason to envy your superiority."

In 1765, when the king had been severely rebuking him, Voltaire answered: "You make mention of my foibles: do you forget that I am a man?" Frederick rejoined: "Had you but said ten years ago that with which you conclude your letter, you would be still here. Assuredly, all men have their foibles, and perfection is not their portion: I feel this too, and know that it is unreasonable to require of others what we cannot attain ourselves. This is what you should have set out with; I should then have loved you in spite of your defects, as your talents are great enough to cover some frailties."

In 1769, Frederick tells d'Alembert that Voltaire has given up writing to him, and cannot forgive him for having defended Maupertuis, against whom, even after

his death, the vindictive poet continued to launch his malicious shafts.

In the following year, the admirers of Voltaire proposed to raise a subscription to defray the expense of a marble statue of the poet, to be executed by Pigalle, who went for that purpose to Ferney. On this subject Voltaire wrote as follows to d'Alembert: "It would not be amiss if Frederick would place himself at the head of the subscribers; he owes me this satisfaction, and you are the only one who can recommend to him this philosophical good work." The poet, like all France, was enchanted with the flattering letter that accompanied the king's remittance of 200 frederics-d'or for the statue. On this occasion, the king adverted to a monument for his modest friend, d'Alembert, who replied: "Let me have but a single stone on my grave, with these words: 'The great Frederick honoured him with his favour and his bounty.'"

Notwithstanding the kindly and liberal spirit invariably shown by the king towards Voltaire, the old grudge still rankled in the revengeful heart of the latter, and would occasionally break forth. In his satirical poem entitled *La Tactique*, written in 1774, he says plumply:

"I hate all heroes,
From the great Cyrus to the sovereign who,
Crowned with glory, trained a Lentulus.
Extol their prodigies, an't please you—I
Eschew them all, and wish them at the devil."

This satire he had the impudence to transmit to Frederick, with a letter beginning thus: "Though I have wished you all at the devil, you, Cyrus, and the great Gustavus," &c. The king replied: "You resemble in your eloquence Antonius, the famous orator of Rome,

who was sure to gain every cause that he pleaded if it was not unjust. I am much obliged to you for your hatred, and beg you to keep it up, as it is the greatest favour that you can do me. You will soon convince me in broad day that it is night." But Frederick could forget as well as forgive. A few months afterwards, he writes: "You are content, you tell me, so one does not hate you; and I cannot refrain from loving you, though you have been guilty of so many little infidelities towards me. When you are dead, there will be none to replace you, and the belles lettres of France will go to ruin. Love of the sciences will be my latest passion."

Both his letters and his expressions, even in moments of the greatest irritation, prove that a high admiration of Voltaire's genius was till the end the permanent feeling of his mind. When the emperor Joseph was returning from Paris in 1777, the only eminent person whom he condescended to visit was Haller, the German poet and physician in Berne: he passed close to the chateau of Ferney, without paying the like compliment to the French patriarch. Göthe finds great fault with Joseph for this indifference, which was not more approved in Berlin. "Had I been in the emperor's place," writes Frederick, on the 13th of August, 1777, to d'Alembert, "I should not have gone through Ferney without calling upon the old patriarch, that I might at least be able to say, 'I have seen and heard him.'" He cheers the patriarch under this slight with the most friendly attention. "I have had a new public library built in Berlin," he writes to him in the same year; "Voltaire's works were hitherto meanly lodged. Alexander the great very properly kept Homer's works in the extremely valuable

casket which formed part of the booty that he took from Darius. But I—as I am no Alexander the great, and have not made booty from anybody—have provided the best possible receptacle that my humble abilities admit of for the works of the Homer of our age."

At length, after an exile of twenty-seven years from his country, Necker obtained from Louis XVI. a tacit permission for Voltaire's return to Paris. His reception and residence in the capital were one continued triumph, which gratified his inordinate vanity, but hastened his end. He was crowned during the representation of his Irene, and scarcely outlived the acclamations of the multitude. The clergy refused him a grave. Frederick, who was then with his army in the heart of Bohemia, honoured his memory with an Eloge written for the Academy of Sciences in Berlin. He did still more: on the anniversary of his decease, in 1780, he had a solemn funeral service, which had been denied him in France, performed with the utmost pomp in the Catholic church in Berlin; and, by the king's direction, Thiébault drew up an account of the ceremony, which was inserted in the Berlin paper and in the other journals of Europe which had the greatest circulation. By command of the king, Tassaert, the sculptor, delivered to the Academy of Sciences the bust of Voltaire, by Houdon, and he had an engraving of his Apotheosis executed for his friends in Paris.

The closing scene of Voltaire's life, and the tone of mind in which he died, have been represented by his friends and his foes in such different colours, that the honest inquirer doubted whether either party was to be believed. The veil which hung over these circumstances has

but recently been raised by the discovery of some letters written at the time by the celebrated Dr. Tronchin, who had long been Voltaire's friend, and attended him professionally in his dying moments, and whose testimony, as a man of the highest probity, is above suspicion. The reader who believes with me in a retributive justice hereafter, will perhaps be instructed when he finds even here something like a commencement of that retribution.

In one of these letters the doctor ascribes Voltaire's journey to Paris to the vanity of his niece madame Denis and her friends, who were determined to detain him in the capital, at whatever risk, that part of the halo of his glory might fall upon themselves. In another, addressed to Bonnet, on the 20th of June, 1778, immediately after Voltaire's decease, he says: "My dear friend, if my principles needed strengthening, they would now be confirmed beyond the possibility of being shaken, since I have seen Voltaire lingering, struggling with death, and expiring before my face. When I compare the death of a good man with Voltaire's death, the one appears to me like the close of a serene day, the other like a tempest—there the composure and resignation of a philosopher who ceases to live, here the fearful agony of one to whom death is the greatest and the most appalling of horrors. God be thanked, I needed not this sight! but yet *forte olim meminisse juvabit.*

"This man, then, was destined to die under my hands. I have always told him the truth, but unfortunately I was the only one who did: all the rest deceived him. 'Yes, my dear friend,' said he several times to me, 'you are the only person who has always given me good advice: had I followed it, I should not be in this dreadful

state; I should be back at Ferney; I should not have intoxicated myself with the fumes that have made my head quite dizzy — yes, it is nothing but fumes that I have inhaled, and you cannot help me. Send a doctor for the insane to me. What spiteful fate brought me again to Paris! You told me, immediately after my arrival, that an oak 84 years old cannot bear transplanting, and you told me the truth. Why did I not believe you! And when I promised to return in your travelling-carriage, why did I not set out forthwith? Have pity upon me, I am quite mad!'

"It had been fixed that he should start two days after his silly coronation at the *Comédie française*. Next morning came a deputation of the French Academy, imploring him to honour it with his presence before his departure. He went after dinner, and the Academy unanimously appointed him its director. He accepted the office, which engaged him afresh for three months, and totally forgot the promise that he had given me. From this moment to his decease, his life was a continued hurricane of follies. He was himself ashamed of them. Whenever he saw me, he begged my pardon, pressed my hand, and besought me not to forsake him, especially as he was obliged to make increased exertions to merit the honour conferred on him by the Academy. He was in particular to assist in the compilation of a new Dictionary like that of the Crusca. The editing of this Dictionary was his last predominant idea, his last ruling passion. He had taken the letter A himself, and distributed the twenty-four others among as many academicians. Some of these undertook the task with great reluctance. Old Voltaire was very angry with them. 'The lazy drones!' he ex-

claimed; 'they are accustomed to idle away their time; but I'll drive them on!' Henceforward he took at random a great number of stimulants between the sittings of the Academy, and committed a number of follies which accelerated his end. Of the dying scene I cannot think without shuddering. When he found that all the means employed to give him strength only brought him nearer to death, the thought of that haunted him incessantly. From this moment, rage and despair took possession of his soul; like Orestes, he was tortured by them. *Furiis agitatus obiit.*"

What a contrast to the calm, peaceful resignation with which the great king, whom the vain, ambitious, unprincipled, and perfidious Voltaire had so cruelly maligned, yielded up his spirit, in the consciousness of having done his duty, and in the practice of that divine christian precept, to return evil with good!

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Tour of the King in Westphalia, in the Summer of 1763 — D'Alembert's Visit to Prussia—Embassy from the Grand Signor—Persecution of Rousseau in Neufchatel—Frederick refuses to ally himself again with England —Hoax practised by him in the official Newspaper of Berlin — Visit of Cavaceppi, the Sculptor, to Potsdam—Remarkable Conversation between the King and the Austrian Ambassador, General Nugent—His extraordinary Reception of Baron Dimsdale— Sympathy manifested by the King with the Corsicans and their leader Paoli — Anecdote of M. de Guines, French Ambassador in Berlin.

After the copious details given in the preceding chapters respecting the king's person, habits, character, family, and friends, during this latter half of his reign, it is time to take a chronological review of the most prominent events in which he was concerned, occasionally mingled, however, with circumstances relating more particularly to himself.

On the conclusion of peace, Frederick returned, as I have related, on the 30th of March, 1763, to his capital, which he had not seen for above six years. There he remained till the 21st of April, when he went to Potsdam, and, on the 2d of June, he set out by way of Magdeburg to visit his Westphalian provinces.

D'Alembert, who had arranged to meet Frederick in Westphalia, accompanied him to Prussia, where he passed some weeks with the king. A letter, which he wrote on the 25th of June, at Sans-Souci, to madame du Deffand in Paris, is worth quoting: "I shall not send you any panegyric on this prince; it would be suspicious from my pen: I shall only relate two traits, from which you may judge of his sentiments and way of thinking. When

I talked to him about the glory which he has won, he replied, with the utmost simplicity, that there is a prodigious deduction to be made from this glory; that he owed almost all of it to chance; and that he should be prouder to have written Athalie than he was of the whole war. Athalie is, indeed, the work which he admires most and reads oftenest. The other fact which I have to tell you relative to this prince is that when, on the day that this peace so glorious for him was concluded, some one observed that it was the finest day of his life, he replied: "The finest day of one's life is that on which one quits it."

The king took his visitor to Charlottenburg, where he directed the Te Deum of his capellmeister Graun and his brother's Mass to be performed in the chapel of the palace, to give d'Alembert, who was a great connoisseur in music, some idea of the German style.

Towards the end of the year, the king received a visit of a very different kind. The Grand Signor despatched a special ambassador to congratulate him on the peace. Resim Ahmed Effendi set out from Constantinople in July, with a retinue of 80 persons. He travelled through Poland, and was received at Tarnowitz, on the frontier of Silesia, by major Pirch, who accompanied him to Berlin, where he made his public entry on the 9th of November, and excited a strong sensation. This distinguished stranger was treated with all the honours due to his rank and mission, and presented on the 21st to his majesty, who, surrounded by the princes of the blood and high officers, received the letter of the Sultan and his highness's presents. These consisted of a diamond aigrette, 282 pieces

of various kinds of stuff, and three horses with trappings, which the king saw from the window in the courtyard.

Thiébault gives an amusing account of this embassy and audience, which seems to partake too much of the burlesque to deserve implicit belief. I quote it, however, as I find it.

"Soon after the peace of 1763, the Grand Signor sent an ambassador to Berlin to compliment the Prussian monarch on his exploits and on the peace. Magnificent presents had been committed to his care; but, somehow or other, they had lost much of their value in the journey from Constantinople to Berlin. Thus a horse of extraordinary beauty and value, destined for count Finkenstein, was transformed, while crossing Poland, into so sorry a jade, that the count blushed to accept the animal, and would not keep it. In spite of these accidents, the ambassador was received with great ceremony, and made much of both at court and in the city, especially as he was the first Turkish envoy that had ever been seen there. The king ordered a very rich and brilliant suit to be made for the day of audience. When brought to him on the preceding day, he ordered it to be put in a corner, without deigning to look at it. He was asked if he would not try it on, to see if it fitted. 'How can it help fitting?' he replied — 'had not the tailor my measure? It will be time enough to-morrow.'

"Next day, a chamberlain went to fetch the ambassador and his suite in carriages belonging to the king, with a numerous escort of guards. The king was reminded that it was time to dress. 'No,' he replied, 'I have plenty of time yet.' Half an hour passed; the intimation was repeated, and the same answer returned.

At length, the carriages were seen approaching through the street leading to the palace: the king was instantly apprized of the fact, and urged to put on his grand dress. 'Tis now too late,' said he; 'and, besides, I shall do very well as I am.' Accordingly, it was in his old hat, his old misshapen boots, and his threadbare uniform that he seated himself upon the throne, placed under an antique canopy. The necessity for preserving his gravity at sight of the Turkish salaams was an unpleasant restraint upon him; but, when he was obliged to listen with royal dignity to the compliments which the envoy was directed to pay him, and which had afterwards to be interpreted, he could no longer conquer his ennui: that ennui became impatience and lassitude during the translation of the answers which he had to return; and the king, according to the report of his nephew, the young prince William of Brunswick, could not help yawning."

Ahmed Effendi was treated with great attention during his residence in Berlin. On the 20th of April, 1764, he had his audience of leave, and, on the 2nd of May, he left the Prussian capital on his return home, accompanied by major Pirch and major Zegelin, the new Prussian ambassador to the Porte.

Pöllnitz was at this time the only person at the Prussian court who knew any thing about the etiquette to be observed on such occasions, and he was of course consulted respecting the ambassador's entry and the two royal audiences. By his advice the ceremonies observed in the 17th century, on the arrival of a Moscovite ambassador, were followed in this instance.

It is related that a considerable number of young women contrived to smuggle themselves into the train of

Turkish vehicles, intending to accompany the representative of the sultan and his retinue to Constantinople; but the police, gaining timely intelligence of the fact, deprived them of the pleasure which they had anticipated from the journey.

The people of Neufchatel, who, as I have shewn, are rather under the protection than under the sway of the Prussian sceptre, and appear to be an inflammable race, drew upon themselves, in 1765, the severe reprehension of the king by acts of violence against Jean Jacques Rousseau. When this eccentric philosopher had, by his "Emile," brought persecution on himself in Paris, Berne, and Geneva, he found, through Lord Marischal, then governor of Neufchatel, a safe asylum at Motiers, a mountain village in that principality. Here he resided three years, and composed his *Lettres écrites de la Montagne*, in which he more fully developed his religious opinions. He thereby drew upon himself the persecution of Montmollin, the clergyman, who denounced Rousseau's wickedness from the pulpit, and declared to his congregation that, on account of one sinner, a whole people has frequently been destroyed. This had the desired effect. Whenever the poor philosopher ventured out of the house, he was followed by the peasants with execrations. On the 1st of September, the pastor again explained their duties to his flock, administered the sacrament, and, after the service, his hearers broke some of the windows of the obnoxious author. In the following nights, the attacks were repeated, and the doors burst open. At length, in the night of the 7th of September, the furious mob forced their way into Rousseau's house, smashed the rest of the windows, and began to demolish

the walls. A volley of stones thrown into his chamber fell close to his bed. He expected to be murdered, but passed through the midst of the crowd without any one daring to lay hands upon him, and fled from the territory of Neufchatel.

The king thereupon wrote to the inhabitants of the principality: "You deserve not to be protected unless you regulate your conduct by the mild precepts of the gospel, instead of cherishing, as hitherto, a spirit of riot, turbulence, and sedition." This rebuke applied not only to the circumstances just related, but also to a previous petition of the Neufchatellers, praying that the king would punish a minister, named Petit-Pierre, because he preached against the eternity of hell torments. On this occasion, the pastors of Neufchatel had declared, in the usual phrase of the time, that their conscience would not permit them to suffer such a heretic as Petit-Pierre to abide among them. Frederick returned for answer that, "as they were so resolutely bent on being eternally damned, he would cheerfully lend a hand, and had no objection whatever that the devil should get his own."

In reality, the king disliked Rousseau from the time that he advanced the specious position that the arts and sciences are the source of human misery, and that they have their origin in our vices, not in our virtues. Frederick took up the pen against these notions in his work "On the Utility of the Arts and Sciences in a State;" and, in a letter to d'Alembert, written at a later period, he calls Rousseau, with reference to this subject, "a disgrace to literature."

When obliged to quit Motiers, Rousseau took refuge

in the island of Pierre, in the lake of Bienne; but, being annoyed in that retreat also, he went to Strasburg. "Lord Marischal," says Rousseau, in the "Continuation of his Confessions," "had always recommended to me England or Scotland, and offered me an asylum on his estates; but what had more weight with me, after the disturbances at Motiers, was the offer of a retreat at Potsdam communicated to me by desire of the king." He was just preparing to comply with this invitation, when he received a letter from David Hume, then secretary to the earl of Hertford, the English ambassador in Paris, proposing that he should go with him to England, and painting the freedom of English life in too alluring colours to be rejected. He accordingly accompanied the Scottish philosopher on his return from France; but it was not long before he quarrelled with Hume, refused a pension offered him by George III., and precipitately went back to France. To this step he was partly impelled by a fictitious letter, purporting to be addressed by the king of Prussia to Rousseau, and sent for insertion in the St. James's Chronicle by Horace Walpole, a particular friend of Hume's. Rousseau was highly incensed at this epistle, which he answered in the same paper.

After Frederick had been so shamefully deserted by lord Bute towards the close of the late war, he could never be persuaded to place any further confidence in the British government, or to contract any new alliance with this country. All advances of this kind were repulsed. On the formation of the league between the branches of the house of Bourbon known by the name of the Family Compact, his Britannic majesty was ad-

vised, in 1766, to take measures for forming a triple defensive alliance, for the maintenance of the tranquillity of Europe, between Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia, with provision for inviting Denmark, Sweden, the States General, and such German or other princes as were not engaged in the Family Compact, to accede to it. Mr. Stanly, who was appointed his majesty's ambassador to the court of Prussia to negociate the intended treaty, had directions to go by way of Berlin, with a proper credential to the king of Prussia, and then, in concert with Sir Andrew Mitchell, more fully to open this measure. Frederick received these advances with great coldness; indeed, the ambassador found him averse to enter into any new and stricter connexions with England, as well on account of the usage he had met with towards the end of the war, as of the unsettled and fluctuating state of our government since the conclusion of the peace. "I own," writes Sir Andrew to the earl of Chatham, Dec. 6, 1766, "the king of Prussia's conduct amazes me. I had hopes a little reflexion would have shewn him his real interest; but vanity and caprice are often too strong for reason; and to these motives I ascribe the answer he has given to the king's salutary proposal, for I do not even suspect his having views to an alliance in another quarter. If he is cool to our nation, he has the French in abhorrence and contempt, of which he makes no secret. His plan seems to be, if he has any, to stand unconnected upon his own bottom, which experience might have taught him is far from being a safe one."

Before the seven years' war, the king made real studies of the military manœuvres practised during peace, as his

instructions to his generals sufficiently testify. Particular celebrity was attached to the first manœuvres on a large scale, performed in 1753, near Spandau, which lasted from the 1st to the 13th of September, and were executed by about 36,000 men. Hussars were posted all around to keep back strangers; indeed, only such officers of the king's own army as belonged to the troops employed, or had invitations, were allowed to be present. Frederick, who liked to keep his experiments to himself, sought in his letters to the public to lead the inquisitive astray, and to mystify military men at a distance by a parody, written at his suggestion by lieutenant-colonel Balbi, of the description of the celebrated Saxon camp in the year 1730, under the title of "Explanation and particular Description of the Manœuvres in the Camp of Spandau." It was, indeed, no unusual thing with him to start some new subject, perhaps an absolute fiction, to divert the ideas of the public from other topics. Thus, early in 1767, when there were strong rumours of the probability of war, he threw out a tub for the whale in the following piece of pure invention, which was inserted in the official Berlin newspaper of the 5th of March:

"On the 27th of February, in the evening, the sky above Potsdam became overcast with clouds so dense and black as are rarely to be seen, and which covered the whole horizon. A thunderstorm ensued; the flashes of lightning were vivid and frequent, and, amidst repeated peals, there fell a shower of hail, such as is not recollected in the memory of man. An ox belonging to a team which a peasant was driving to town was killed on the spot; many of the common people were wounded

in the streets, and a peasant had his arm broken. Roofs were broken down by the weight of the hail; and all the windows in houses facing the wind were dashed in pieces. In the streets were found lumps of ice as large as pumpkins, and they were not quite melted till some hours after the tempest had ceased. This extraordinary phenomenon has made a very great sensation. Naturalists assert that the air had not force sufficient to support these solid conglomerated masses; and that the small hailstones in the clouds, rent by the vehemence of the wind, continued separate while falling, and did not assume this extraordinary form till they had nearly reached the earth. Be this as it may, so much is certain, that instances of this kind are very rare, nay, almost unexampled."

This story, in which there was not a word of truth, certainly did make "a very great sensation" far and near. As not a creature in Potsdam knew any thing about the matter, it occasioned considerable discussion; and Titius, professor of natural philosophy at Wittenberg, published a paper on this remarkable incident among his "Essays for promoting the knowledge and use of natural things."

In 1768, Cavaceppi, the celebrated sculptor of Rome, visited Potsdam. Frederick admitted him to his presence, and conversed with him upon the ancient works of art in his native city, and the astonishing collection which cardinal Albani had made there. In a few days he solicited permission, through Quintus Icilius, to model a bust of the king. Frederick granted it, but said that he could not allow this to be done in his presence, as he had always refused to sit to any artist. "Still," added

he, "if Cavaceppi possesses skill, he will be able to manage very well, for I will give him abundant opportunity to look at me."—"Accordingly," says Cavaceppi, "when I was admitted to a second audience, the monarch conversed with me an hour and a quarter, speaking very learnedly concerning history and other useful subjects, at the same time turning his head in various positions, that I might have facilities for duly observing him. As soon as I was aware of this gracious artifice, I was very anxious to turn it to the best advantage." The likeness was so striking that the artist was commissioned to work the bust in marble.

About the end of 1768, general Nugent, Austrian ambassador in Berlin, learned unexpectedly that Frederick had ordered the army to be put on the war-footing. He immediately solicited an audience, which was granted, and the following remarkable conversation took place.

"Sire," said the ambassador, "your majesty seems disposed to go to war again, and I venture to ask you if you are weary of the repose of Europe, and what is your motive for these threatening preparations?"

"It is very simple: I would rather forestall, than be forestalled."

"Who thinks of war, sire? Nobody: at least I will answer for Austria."

"But what is the meaning of the extraordinary remounts there? four thousand horses bought in one bargain!"

"Permit me, sire, to remind you of treaties, which, perhaps, escape your recollection at this moment. After the peace of Hubertsburg, the empress proposed to your majesty, for the alleviation of your respective subjects,

to reduce the army one half, in hopes of prevailing on France to do the same. Your majesty had reasons for not acceding to this proposal. The empress carried her idea into execution, and was enabled by this retrenchment to recruit her finances. The death of the emperor has placed the exchequer of Tuscany at her disposal. The debts of the state are paid, and the empress now deems it her duty to place her army on a footing commensurate with the extent of her dominions. This has not hitherto been the case, and I can give your majesty the assurance that my sovereign wishes for nothing more ardently than the preservation of peace."

"The empress could not do better than bestow her confidence on you. You are an admirable minister."

"I have the great, perhaps unmerited good fortune to stand in this capacity before your majesty, and to converse with you upon a very important subject. But will you extend to general Nugent the permission granted to the Austrian ambassador? In that case, I assure your majesty, as a man of honour, and as a mere private person, and I pledge my head for it, that all I have said as ambassador is absolute truth."

"May I believe you, general?"

"Dare I add one bold word, sire? Your majesty is too mistrustful."

"I will prove the contrary to you in a moment. How can I do so better than in trusting the ambassador of Austria!"

"Your majesty trusts only general Nugent, and that you may do without danger."

"Well, then, let the affair be forgotten. We will continue at peace."

It is well known what fatal ravages were formerly committed by that loathsome disease, small-pox, which, owing chiefly to the vicious mode of treatment adopted by the faculty, swept off indiscriminately high and low. When, therefore, Dr. Dimsdale, who had turned his particular attention to this disorder, published in 1766, a work recommending a new system of practice, it attracted universal notice both in England and abroad. It was soon translated into all the languages of the continent, and procured the author, in 1768, an invitation from the empress of Russia to go to Petersburg for the purpose of inoculating herself and her son the grand-duke Paul. He complied, and such was the success of the operation, that Catherine conferred on the doctor the rank of baron, the appointment of actual councillor of state and physician to her imperial majesty, with a salary of £500 per annum, a present of £10,000, and an allowance of £2,000 for travelling expenses.

Contrasted with these tokens of the empress's munificence, the reception which he experienced from Frederick, when in April, 1769, he passed through Berlin on his return to England, appeared the more extraordinary. He was the bearer of a packet from count Solms to count Finkenstein, the Prussian minister, after the delivery of which he was desired by an express message from the king to come to Potsdam, as his majesty wished to see him. The particulars of the singular interview which took place in consequence are given in the baron's own words, in a letter to Sir Andrew Mitchell:

"On Saturday 15th, in the morning, I was conducted in a coach, with a person that spoke English, to Sans-Souci, where we arrived about ten o'clock, and after

waiting about an hour, was told the king was gone to take a ride, but would see me on his return. At twelve, the king returned, and I was ordered to go into his apartment. He met us at the door, and said in French: 'Sir, I think you inoculated the empress and the prince at Petersburg.' I answered: 'Yes, an't please your majesty.' All the answer he made was, 'I felicitate you on the occasion, and wish you a good journey.' Then, turning short on his heel, he was gone in a moment.

"I make no reflexions on this reception," continues the baron; "only it seems as if an Englishman was not in fashion there; for, upon the whole, his majesty's fashion of speaking was far from being gracious."

On this Sir Andrew remarks in his letter to lord Cathcart, the English ambassador at Petersburg: "The singularity of this reception would certainly surprise me if I was less acquainted with the king of Prussia: however, I cannot agree with the baron that it was owing to his being an Englishman. The affront was certainly to the czarina and to count Solms's recommendation."

Corsica, a dependency of Genoa, weary of the yoke of the republic, made an attempt in the first half of last century to shake it off by electing Theodore Neuhof, a Westphalian baron, king of the island. A French auxiliary force expelled the new sovereign, and re-established the authority of the Genoese. In 1764, the Corsicans again rose against the latter under the conduct of Pascal Paoli, a leader worthy of them and their cause: but again France, their evil genius, interfered, and purchased the island from Genoa for 40 million

livres. A French army was sent to reduce it. Paoli made a courageous resistance, and solicited the king of Prussia to send him some officers. Frederick replied that they would be of no use to him; that discipline would throw the Corsicans out of their sphere; that their business was not to attack, but to defend themselves, and this they understood better than any other nation in the world. This letter was accompanied by a portrait of Paoli, engraved in Berlin, and some complimentary verses.

The king continued to take an interest in the proceedings of the Corsican general. In June, 1769, Sir Andrew Mitchell writes to Lord Rochford: "The first tidings from Italy of the gallant defence of the Corsicans and the defeat of the French produced general joy in this country. The king himself joins in it, approves the conduct of Paoli, and drank his health publicly at dinner; whether out of love to the Corsican cause, or hatred of the French, I cannot tell."

On the 15th of the following month, the ambassador writes to the same nobleman, that the king had spoken with much sympathy of Paoli's fortunes, and the advantages which France would derive from the possession of Corsica. In the same letter, he tells his noble correspondent that, on the 13th, in the circle of the queen's assembly, the king had particularly distinguished him on purpose to slight and to nettle the French ambassador. Meanwhile, Paoli, unable to cope with the superior force brought against him, sought an asylum in England, where he died in 1807.

Whether M. de Guines, who was recalled from Berlin by his court, in the course of the year 1769, was the

French ambassador alluded to above, I have not been able to ascertain, but it seems very probable. Of this diplomatist, Thiébault relates an amusing anecdote. He tells us that M. de Guines, during his embassy in Berlin, so far outshone all the other ambassadors in the magnificence of his establishment as to excite general envy and mortification in the rest of the diplomatic body. He attributes to these feelings a singular circumstance which occurred at the table of prince Dolgoruki, the Russian minister in Berlin. It happened that an ambassador of the same power to some western state of Europe arrived in the Prussian capital on his way to Petersburg, for the purpose of presenting his wife to the empress on occasion of their marriage. Prince Dolgoruki gave on their account a grand dinner to all the ambassadors, at which M. de Guines was placed next to the fair lady. The latter, aware of the sentiments secretly entertained towards the minister of France, had put on her finger a very handsome ring, containing a small squirt. In the middle of the dinner, she directed the count's attention to the beautiful workmanship of this ring, and asked him to guess the secret of it. At the moment when he was stooping to look at it, she pressed against a point of the ring within her hand, and spirted the little water which it held into the eyes of her complaisant neighbour. M. de Guines laughed at the trick, wiped his face, and thought no more of the matter. The lady recharged the ring, unperceived by him, and soon afterwards, pretending to have something to say to him, she gave him a second volley. M. de Guines, without appearing to be either angry or disconcerted, assumed the grave tone of one who gives a piece of friendly advice.

"Madam," said he, "such a trick is for the first time a playfulness at which one laughs, and for the second an indiscretion which one forgives in a young person, especially when it is a lady who indulges in it; but the third time, it is an insult, madam; and you should have that instant in return this glass of water which you see before me: I have the honour to forewarn you." The lady, conceiving that he would not venture to put this threat into execution, filled and discharged her ring a third time at the expense of M. de Guines, who instantly seized the glass and threw the contents over her, calmly adding: "I gave you sufficient warning, madam." Her husband immediately took the part of the count, thanked him, and declared that he had served her quite right. The lady retired to change her dress; her friends were anxious that the affair should not be talked of elsewhere, and the whole company promised to say nothing about it.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Affairs of Poland — Death of King Augustus III. and Count Brühl — Treaty of Alliance between Frederick and the Empress Catherine — Elevation of Count Stanislaus Poniatowsky to the throne — Frederick's Letter to him on the occasion — Persecution of the Dissidents by the Catholics — Confederation of the Dissidents and counter-Confederation of Bar — Turkey declares war against Russia — Frederick remonstrates with the Grand Signor — His Interview with the Emperor Joseph at Neisse — He returns the Emperor's Visit at Neustadt in Moravia — Frederick's efforts for restoring Peace — Visit of Prince Henry to Petersburg — First Partition of Poland projected — Aversion of the Empress Maria Theresa to that measure — Frederick assents to it for the sake of preserving peace — State of his new Acquisitions — His efforts for their improvement.

The anarchy prevailing in Poland was at this time engaging the attention of all Europe, but more especially that of its three neighbour potentates. Poland had flourished for five centuries as an absolute, hereditary monarchy, under kings of the house of Piast, when that family became extinct with Casimir the Great. The grandees took advantage of this event to render the crown elective, and by degrees to deprive the sovereign of all but the mere shadow of royal authority. The extravagant pretensions of the aristocracy, having no salutary counterpoise, gave rise to parties and to domestic feuds, and facilitated, nay, occasioned, the interference of neighbouring powers; while the country remained behind the other states of Europe in civil, military, and political development. The nobles, introducing at the election of every new king some innovation in their own favour, at length established the *liberum veto*, by which any member of the diet could by his

single vote negative any measure that came under discussion and dissolve that assembly, which became the laughing-stock of the world. During the reign of Augustus II., which lasted thirty years, all the diets but one were thus broken up, many of them immediately after their opening, and before any business of importance could be taken into consideration. In short, Poland was not a state, but a vast confederation of an infinite number of petty despots combined against the king and the people; and that strange system of laws, that complicated organization, that machinery, all the wheels of which were calculated to stop one another, seemed to have been devised solely to prevent the existence of a central government, of a regulating power.

Though Augustus II., at his election, submitted to a new restrictive article, by which he engaged not to acquire, either of himself or through others, any landed possessions in the country, still, towards the end of his life, he entertained an idea, which, if ably executed, might perhaps have saved Poland from its impending fate. His scheme was to render the crown hereditary, and to lull the jealousy of the neighbouring states by the sacrifice of part of the kingdom. Death surprised him before he had taken any steps towards the execution of this design. Through the influence of Russia, his son, Augustus III., was elected his successor.

This weak and indolent monarch, who during the war had left his electoral dominions to their fate and sought the enjoyment of personal ease at Warsaw, returned to Dresden on the conclusion of peace, which he survived only a few months, dying in October, 1763. The vain and profligate Brühl followed his master to the grave in

little more than three weeks. On the decease of the latter, he had resigned his appointments, upon a pension of 36,000 dollars. His expenses while prime minister were computed at a million dollars per annum, and he left property amounting, after payment of his debts, to a million and a half. An inquiry into his administration of the revenues of the state led to the discovery that he had embezzled upwards of 4,300,000 dollars. Proceedings were about to be commenced against his heirs, but, on the premature decease of the new elector Frederick Christian, in December, 1763, they were quashed by prince Xavier, the guardian of his son during his minority.

The Polish chiefs, in order to counteract the preponderating influence over the internal affairs of their country, which the empress Catherine arrogated to herself, now thought of offering the vacant crown to prince Henry of Prussia. Frederick declined the proposal. Deserted by England, an object of blind aversion to Austria, which kept aloof from him, his situation dictated the policy of cultivating the friendship of Russia. In April, 1764, he concluded a treaty with Catherine, by which both parties mutually guaranteed, for eight years, the integrity of their respective possessions, and engaged, in case of attack, to assist each other with a force of 12,000 men, or a subsidy of 480,000 dollars. In a secret article, they agreed to oppose by arms, if necessary, any attempt to render the crown of Poland hereditary, or to change the constitution and fundamental laws of the republic. In a secret convention concluded on the same day, both sovereigns agreed to place count Stanislaus Poniatowsky on the throne. He was ac-

cordingly elected and crowned under the protection of the Russian arms. Stanislaus was born in 1732, and, after receiving an excellent education, travelled over Europe. In Paris he was arrested for debt, but released on the interposition of Madame Geoffrin. In London, he made the acquaintance of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, and accompanied him to Petersburg, where he had the fortune to gain the particular favour of the grand-duchess, afterwards empress, Catherine. On his return to Warsaw, Augustus III. sent him, at the instigation of that princess, as his ambassador to Petersburg. Here ensued an intimate connexion between him and Catherine, of which her husband was aware. Stanislaus gave umbrage to the court of Versailles by being on too friendly terms with the English party; and Augustus, then in alliance with France, recalled him for this reason, in 1761.

The energetic measures adopted at the instigation of the new king's two uncles, the powerful Czartoriskis, which seemed to portend the political resurrection of Poland, caused her mighty neighbour to repent the choice which she had made. She required the king and the republic to enter into an offensive and defensive treaty with her; and demanded for the Dissidents, who, persecuted by the Catholics, had appealed to her for protection, equal rights with the latter. Again, the Poles solicited Frederick more urgently than before to assent to their choice of prince Henry for their king; but the Prussian monarch not only adhered to his alliance with Russia, but warmly espoused the cause of the Dissidents. Great Britain, Sweden, and Denmark also made strong remonstrances in their favour. The catholic diet was

indignant; Austria made warlike demonstrations, but remained quiet, when, in April, 1767, Frederick united himself still more closely with Catherine. The newspapers reported that the Prussians had passed the frontiers of Poland, but the king declared that not a man of his troops had entered or should enter Poland, unless the Austrians interfered.

The Dissidents, under prince Radziwill, formed a confederation, and, at an extraordinary diet held in October, they made the most strenuous efforts to carry their point. Prince Repnin, the Russian ambassador, a young man of impetuous disposition, availing himself of the right of the stronger, caused some of the most vehement of their opponents to be seized in the night, and sent off separately to Siberia. Soon afterwards, in February, 1768, Russia concluded an everlasting treaty with the Polish republic, and, in two separate conventions, re-established the Dissidents in all their rights, and determined the fundamental constitution of the republic.

This extravagant assumption of power by a foreign state drove the Poles to despair. France and England were opposed to Russia, but not less averse than Prussia to a general war. The court of Versailles fanned the flame, without affording any essential support. In May, 1768, a catholic counter-confederation was formed at Bar, in Podolia, headed by three of the most violent adversaries of the Czartoriskis and their reforms. Their professed object was to dethrone the king, and to shake off the yoke of foreign influence. Stanislaus solicited the aid of the empress. Russian troops dispersed the catholic confederates, pursued a party of them into the

Turkish territory, and set fire to the little town of Balta. The Poles and their friends in Constantinople represented these proceedings in such offensive colours, that the populace of the Turkish capital clamoured for revenge; and the feeble government, which, during the seven years' war, had suffered the favourable moment to escape, sent the Russian ambassador to the Seven Towers, and in October, 1768, declared war against the empress.

Frederick was far from pleased to find himself involved in fresh quarrels. He frankly acquainted the Porte that he was bound to assist his ally, the empress Catherine, but that it would be by subsidies, not with troops, adding, that he should always feel great pleasure in exerting his good offices to adjust the differences between the two empires, for he was extremely sorry to see them resort to arms for such trivial causes. He intimated, also, that, in case of hostilities, he might perhaps send two or three officers to the Russian army as volunteers, who could not be considered in the light of assistance in troops. In another despatch, the king remarks that, in the manifesto of the Porte against Russia, the legitimacy of the election of the king of Poland is attacked in such a way as to imply an intention to dethrone him in case of the success of the Turkish arms; but that he, having guaranteed his crown to the king, should be obliged to oppose any attempt to deprive him of it. The Grand Signor then requested Frederick to send him three astrologers. The king replied, that his three astrologers were, careful study of politics and the military art, a well disciplined army, and a full treasury; and he continued to recommend

peace to all parties, which, in his situation, was certainly most desirable.

Here I would, once for all, direct the attention of the reader to the manly, frank, straight-forward character of all Frederick's diplomatic transactions, totally at variance with that petty, sneaking, underhand policy, with which superficial writers have not scrupled to charge the great king, especially in regard to the affairs of Poland.

Stedfastly as he adhered to his engagements with Russia, Frederick could not view with unconcern the successes of her arms against the Turks in 1769. A similar feeling pervaded the court of Vienna. The emperor Joseph, since his father's death in 1765, co-regent of the Austrian hereditary dominions, had long wished to make the personal acquaintance of the formidable adversary of his mother. In 1766, when he travelled through Bohemia and Saxony to visit the theatre of the war, he sent word to the king that he should be delighted to gratify his wish on that occasion. The empress and prince Kaunitz, however, considered such an interview as inexpedient." "The emperor," says Frederick, "felt some vexation at this disappointment, and intimated to the king of Prussia that he should find means of making amends for the incivility into which he was forced by his pedagogues." The triumphs of Russia at length brought about the desired meeting. During the king's reviewing tour in Silesia, in 1769, Joseph, who had earnestly desired that no ceremony might be observed, and travelled under the name of count Falkenstein, arrived at Neisse about noon, on the 25th of August, attended by duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen,

count Dietrichstein, Loudon, and some other generals. Field-marshal Lascy had preceded him. The emperor repaired to the episcopal palace, where the king resided, without first going to the quarters prepared for himself. Frederick, with the prince of Prussia, prince Henry, and the margrave of Anspach, hastened to meet him, but he had not descended many steps before the emperor was in his arms. The king insisted that his illustrious visiter should go up stairs before him, and, after some contest, Joseph yielded, gracefully observing: "If your majesty is for manœuvring, I must give way, and go wherever you wish me." The king led him by the hand into the room. "Now," exclaimed Joseph, "my fondest wish is gratified, as I have the honour to embrace the greatest of kings and generals."—"And I," replied Frederick, "consider this day as the brightest of my life, for it will mark the epoch of the union of two houses which have too long been enemies, and whose mutual interest requires them rather to support than to destroy one another."—"For Austria," rejoined Joseph, "there is now no Silesia." At six in the evening, the king returned the emperor's visit. The comic opera was not to the taste of the monarchs: they quitted the theatre, and returned to the palace to converse.

The forenoons of the next three days were devoted to the exercises of the troops. The emperor was particularly gracious to the Prussian generals, Seydlitz, Tauentzien, Lentulus, and colonel Anhalt, while, in his retinue, Loudon was most conspicuous. In the evolutions of the troops, the cavalry, and especially Seydlitz's regiment of cuirassiers, attracted universal notice. During

one of the manœuvres, a letter from the empress queen was brought to Frederick: having read it, he kissed and handed it to the emperor.

In public, the two heads of the empire were only seen together arm in arm. The evenings were passed in familiar conversation. Joseph took a suitable occasion to intimate that, so long as his mother lived, he could not flatter himself that he should acquire any important influence; still he could not help admitting that, in the present state of things, neither he nor the empress could consent that the Russians should retain possession of Moldavia and Wallachia. He also proposed to the king a strict neutrality for Germany, in case of a war between England and France; and they further agreed to abstain from interfering in any other unforeseen disturbances. This convention was signed on the 28th of August, with prudent caution on Frederick's part: for, though far from placing an implicit confidence in Austria, he still thought that it behoved him to be upon his guard against the threatened preponderance of Russia. He had felt but too keenly the strokes inflicted by her in the last war, and, gladly as he would have continued Catherine's friend, he would not be her slave, as he plainly told her ambassador: it could not therefore be to his interest to contribute himself to the aggrandizement of so dangerous a power.

The two monarchs parted highly pleased with each other. Frederick presented the emperor with a splendidly-bound copy of the "Reveries of Marshal Saxe." It is a curious fact that, though this book lay on the dressing-table of the emperor as long as he lived, all the leaves were found sticking together after his death from

the gilding. When Joseph, on his return, arrived at Glatz, the commandant asked if his majesty would like to see the fortress. "I have seen so many extraordinary sights already," replied the emperor, "that I have no wish to see any more."

In the following year, 1770, the Russian arms were still victorious. Prussia sought to dispose the court of Petersburg to peace. Austria made fresh armaments in Hungary, and Frederick returned the emperor's visit at Neustadt, near Austerlitz, in Moravia. He arrived in the afternoon of the 3d of September, accompanied by his brother, prince Ferdinand, the prince of Prussia, the hereditary prince of Brunswick and his brother, general Lentulus, and several aides-de-camp. On reaching the town, the king alighted, intending to walk to the emperor's residence; but Joseph, perceiving him from the window, went with all his generals to meet him. The monarchs met in the Place and embraced. Frederick and all his suite were in white uniform, the colour of Austria, in compliment to the emperor. "I have brought your majesty recruits," said he. Joseph accompanied his visiter to the lodgings provided for him, and, after a short conversation, the whole company went to the emperor's quarters to dinner. On the next two days there were reviews. As the imperial troops were marching past the sovereigns, the king observed to the emperor—"Every one of your soldiers seems to be a son of Mars."

The diplomatic affairs discussed at Neustadt were probably more important than those of the preceding year at Neisse. This time prince Kaunitz was present. That statesman considered a union between Austria and Prussia as the only safeguard against the torrent which

threatened to inundate all Europe. Frederick, highly as he could not help valuing the friendship of Austria, repeatedly adverted to his alliance with Russia, and declared that the grand object of his solicitude was to prevent the war with Turkey from kindling a general conflagration, and therefore he was sincerely desirous to bring about a better understanding between the two imperial courts. On the following day arrived from Constantinople an application from the Grand Signor to the courts of Berlin and Vienna, requesting them to undertake the mediation between Russia and the Porte. Joseph and prince Kaunitz were highly pleased, and thanked the king, at whose instigation the tender of this office was made. The two sovereigns soon agreed upon the instructions to be given to their ambassadors in the Turkish capital, who negociated separately with the ministers of the sultan, but found the Porte, notwithstanding its losses and humiliations, little disposed to make the unavoidable sacrifices which its situation demanded. On the contrary, the reis-effendi proposed to baron Thugut, the Austrian envoy, a closer connexion with the Porte against Russia, urging that, when the Russians should be driven out of Poland, it would then be at the option of the imperial court either to place a king on the throne of that country, or to divide it with the Porte. Thus the distracted state and consequent weakness of Poland had suggested the idea of a partition even to the Turks, who were not famed for political sagacity.

The prince de Ligne, in his animated sketches of this interview, shows that it was not less generally interesting than diplomatically important. The king paid par-

ticular attention to Loudon, whom he always called field-marshal, though it was not till several years later that he attained that rank. One day, when the company were sitting down to dinner, and inquiry was made why Loudon was not there, Frederick remarked—"This is contrary to his custom; he used often to be beforehand with me:" and, when the general entered, he said to the emperor—"Permit him to take this place by me; I would rather see him by my side than opposite to me." To Loudon and Lascy he made a present of two horses each, superbly caparisoned.

The prince de Ligne tells us that on this occasion Frederick persisted, to the annoyance of the emperor, in pressing upon him the honours of precedency. When Joseph mounted his horse, the king, to prove himself a well-bred elector, observes the prince, would insist on holding his bridle and placing his foot in the stirrup; while Joseph, though less ceremonious, paid him that deference and respect which it was natural for a young prince to show to an old king and a young soldier to one of the greatest generals.

At most of their conversations, which embraced all sorts of topics, de Ligne was present. One evening, at supper, they were talking of what each would like to be if he had his choice. The sovereigns put this question to the prince de Ligne. "I told them," he says, "that I should like to be a handsome woman till thirty; then an able and successful general till sixty; and lastly, rather puzzled how to conclude, a cardinal till eighty. The king, who likes to joke about the sacred college, laughed heartily, and the emperor joined him."

The prince de Ligne had several interviews with the

Prussian monarch alone. In one of these, the conversation turned on the French, their literature, and Louis XIV. "That was the patriarch of kings," said Frederick."—"A king of France," observed the prince, "is always the patriarch of men of letters."—"Ah!" said the king, "that is no enviable lot; they are the worst people of all to govern. It is better to be the patriarch of the Greeks, like my sister, the empress of Russia. *That* brings her in something, and will bring her in a great deal more. *That* is indeed a religion, which comprehends so many countries and such various nations. As for our poor Lutherans, they are so few in number that it is not worth while to be their patriarch."—"Still, sire, if the Calvinists and all the other protestant sects were united to them, it would be a rather good post." The king seemed to be excited by this idea, and his eyes became animated. But his countenance changed when the prince said to him, "If the emperor were the patriarch of the Catholics, that would be no bad place either."—"Well done," said he, smiling, "there is Europe divided among three patriarchs. But I was wrong to begin this subject; you see what it leads us to. It seems to me that our dreams are not like those of an honest man, to use the expression of the regent. If Louis XIV. were living, he would be obliged to us."—"All these patriarchal ideas," adds the prince, "possible or impossible to realize, gave him a thoughtful air for a moment, and almost put him out of humour."

One day, when the sovereigns were particularly confidential to each other, the conversation turned upon politics. "Every body," said the king, "cannot have the same system of politics; it must depend on the situ-

ation, the circumstances, and the power of each respective state: what might be advantageous to me might not suit your majesty. I have sometimes risked a political falsehood."—"How was that?" asked the emperor, laughing.—"Why," replied the king, also laughing, "I have invented a piece of news, knowing that in twenty-four hours it would be discovered to be false. I did not care for that, for, before its falsehood was known, it had already produced its effect."

It has already been mentioned that Frederick and his suite had, on occasion of this visit to the emperor, assumed the Austrian colour, white, in compliment to him. The king took, as usual, a great deal of Spanish snuff; and once, when trying to remove from his coat the marks of it as well as he could, he said to the prince de Ligne, "I am not clean enough for you, gentlemen; I am not worthy to wear your colours." "By his manner, when he said this," adds the prince, "I could not help believing that he would take the first opportunity that should present itself for soiling them with gunpowder."

Frederick has himself recorded the opinion which he formed of the emperor from these interviews. Soon after his return, he writes to Voltaire: "I have just got back from a long journey. I have been to Moravia and seen the emperor, who is preparing to play an important part in Europe. He was born in a bigoted court, and has thrown off superstition, brought up in pomp, and has assumed simple manners, is feasted with flattery and is modest, glows with the love of glory and sacrifices his ambition to filial duty, which he really practises most conscientiously, has had only pedants for instructors, and yet possesses taste sufficient to read

Voltaire's works and to appreciate their merits. He once recited to me nearly a whole canto of the Pastor Fido, and a number of verses from Tasso."

Whether any political measures were concerted by the two sovereigns in these interviews is a question which it is impossible to solve. Dumouriez, indeed, who was envoy from the court of France to the Polish confederation, relates that in the following year a letter in cipher, addressed to the king of Poland, was intercepted, and from this letter, which he deciphered, it appeared that the partition of that country was discussed at Neustadt: but his statement is so vague as to deserve little credit. He admits himself that the duke de Choiseul, to whom he communicated the pretended discovery, treated it as a chimera. That minister was desirous of a general war and of an opportunity to attack England with advantage; he even purposed to send troops to the assistance of the Poles, for Louis XV. had most solemnly promised the republic to preserve it inviolate in every respect, and to support it with all his power. On the other hand, his mistress, du Barry, represented that he had gained sufficient military glory, and that peace would now be consistent with his honour. Choiseul was consequently dismissed about the end of 1770, and his successor, the duke d'Aiguillon, extinguished all the hopes of succour entertained by the Poles, who mismanaged matters so egregiously that the revolution could not but miscarry.

Frederick had offered himself as mediator. Peace was his aim, and Russia, Turkey, and Austria, sought his good offices. In consequence of what had passed at Neustadt, he wrote in September, 1770, to his ambassador in Petersburg, informing him that he had submitted to

the empress a plan for tranquillizing Poland, which, to be palatable to the confederates, must be based on moderate principles. "In the first place, the throne of Poland must be strengthened, and the Dissidents advised to relinquish their claim to admittance into the senate. The generalissimo of the crown must have more influence over the Polish army, and it must be ascertained what concessions Russia can make for the sake of peace. This done, I engage to guarantee it, and to obtain the guarantee of the court of Vienna, and also to compel the confederates to submit on moderate conditions to the empress of Russia." The king here refers to Poland, in order to dispose Catherine to more reasonable demands upon the Porte: but Russia insisted on such sacrifices as the court of Berlin durst not communicate either to that of Vienna or to the sultan.

In this complicated state of affairs, Austria was undecided what course it would be most advantageous to pursue. At length, in July, 1771, she concluded a secret convention with the Porte, and engaged to procure for the Grand Signor restitution of all the provinces conquered by Russia, and also to obtain freedom and independence for Poland. This circumstance came to the knowledge of the English minister: he communicated it to Catherine, who, nevertheless, on her part, was nearly certain of the acquiescence of the cabinet of Vienna in her designs. Austrian surveyors indeed, under military escort, had violated the territory of the republic, and been engaged for above a year in settling the boundaries between Poland and Hungary. The Imperialists spread themselves more and more over the

unfortunate country, and king Stanislaus complained in vain to the court of Vienna.

Meanwhile, Frederick's brother, prince Henry, received an invitation to Petersburg. After visiting his sister at Stockholm, he proceeded to the Russian capital in December, 1770, and was received by the empress with the utmost magnificence. He had no particular instructions from the king. The main object of his journey was to preserve Prussia from a new war, and to dispose the empress to more moderate demands upon the Porte. Just at this moment, intelligence arrived at Petersburg that Austria had revived ancient and wholly unfounded claims to a Polish district near the river Zips, and taken possession of it. This invasion excited the greatest astonishment; and Catherine, in conversation with prince Henry, made use of the well-known expression, which seems to have given the first impulse to the other accessaries in the plan of spoliation: "Poland seems to be a country where one need but stoop to pick up something. If the court of Vienna is determined to dismember the kingdom, its other neighbours have a right to do the same."

Prince Henry lost no time in reporting what had passed to the king. He knew that Kaunitz had, when at Neustadt, considered a division of Poland as calculated to satisfy all parties. Catherine, reluctant as she might be to share with others what she would rather have kept to herself, yet entered into the further discussion of a plan of partition, and said with confidential frankness to prince Henry, "I will frighten the Turks and flatter the English; do you persuade Austria to lull France."

On the first news of these negociations, Frederick imagined that he was reading a dream. Well as he was aware of his brother's prudence and sagacity, still he apprehended that he must be under some delusion, till he had received an authentic confirmation from his ambassador. The overture now appeared most seasonable, and, every thing duly considered, it was the only expedient for avoiding fresh feuds, and for satisfying all parties, and Prussia among the rest, for the subsidies which she had paid to Catherine. Such were the motives which led to the first partition of Poland.

So sensible was Frederick in the sequel of the advantages derived from the promptness with which his brother Henry fell into the views of Catherine respecting the partition of Poland, that he purposed to erect a statue to him. Henry declined the honour, and the king assigned to him a yearly income of 12,000 dollars in gold out of the revenues of West Prussia and the reversion of the lordship of Schwedt.

Meanwhile, the confederates of Bar, after heaping insults upon the king, declared the throne to be vacant. They went still further. Three enthusiasts had the audacity, in November, 1771, to seize Stanislaus, and carry him off by night from his capital. They lost their way, and separated in the dark. One of the conspirators, in whose custody the king was left, being seized with remorse, set the monarch at liberty. This attempt drew down from all foreign courts the severest condemnation of the party by which it had been perpetrated.

Rent by faction, ravaged by the war between the Russians and the confederates, unhappy Poland was now doomed to experience another scourge. The plague

raged with great violence not only in Moldavia and Wallachia, but also in Volhynia and Podolia. After the encroachment of Austria, Prussia, for her own protection, formed a cordon of troops under general Billing from Crossen to the other side of the Vistula.

Austria, though determined to retain the tract which she had seized, expressed herself decidedly adverse to a partition of Poland; and troops were collected in Hungary for a check upon Prussia as well as Catherine. Frederick was in a position that demanded mature consideration; but he swerved not from the line which he had chalked out for himself. He declared that, in case peace between the two imperial courts could not be preserved, he must side with his ally; and, to give more weight to this intimation, he equipped the whole of his cavalry with some parade. This decided the point. Russia desisted from her too exorbitant demands upon the Porte; on receiving this intelligence, the court of Vienna was highly gratified; and the sultan, seeing so good a prospect of accommodation, released the Russian ambassador, and thus took the first step towards peace.

After the abortive attempt upon the king, the Polish confederation dissolved itself, and the hostilities with Russia ceased. The secret convention between the empress and Frederick, relative to the partition, was signed at Petersburg in February, 1772. All efforts to persuade Austria to accede to it were for some time fruitless, though Kaunitz, in spite of his treaty with the Porte, had in confidence told the Russian ambassador, prince Gallitzin, that if Poland, divided into equal parts, were not enough for the three powers, they must take something from another, meaning Turkey. The same

motive which had decided Frederick, that is, the desire to avoid a new war, at length overcame the vehement repugnance of Maria Theresa to this spoliation. She wrote on the subject to Kaunitz in these terms: "When claims were set up to all my dominions, and I knew not where I might lie-in unmolested, I trusted to my own good right and the assistance of God. But in this matter, in which not only public right cries aloud to Heaven against us, but equity and sound reason are both set at defiance by us, I must confess that never in my life have I felt such qualms of conscience; indeed, I am ashamed to show my face. Let the prince consider what an example we are giving to all the world, if we sacrifice our honour and reputation for a paltry bit of Poland, or of Moldavia and Wallachia. I am aware that I stand alone, and that I am no longer *en vigueur;* I therefore let things take their own course, but not without the greatest chagrin."

The empress nevertheless ultimately assented to the plan of partition, though not without a strong expression of her individual sentiments, in the following words, which she wrote underneath it: "*Placet*, because so many great and learned men desire it; but, long after I am dead, it will be seen what will result from this violation of all that has hitherto been regarded as sacred and just."

It was in March, 1772, that this unwilling assent was wrung from the honest Maria Theresa to the partition treaty, which rent from Poland one third of its territory. The share of Prussia, though far inferior in extent and population to that of the other two powers, was of immense importance, as it connected the province of East

Prussia with the king's German dominions, and, by giving him possession of the mouth of the Vistula, rendered the trade of Poland tributary to him. It comprehended about 13,500 square miles, with a population not much exceeding half a million.

Each of the three powers issued a manifesto in justification of this proceeding. That of Frederick related more especially to the country of Pomerellia, which had been wrested, in the 13th century, by the Poles from the dukes of Pomerania, and, as heir to that house, he insisted on his right to unite it to his dominions. The grave employment of such a plea seems very much like adding insult to robbery.

Frederick took possession of his new acquisition in September, 1772, and solemnly proclaimed to the inhabitants that they should all be protected in their property and rights, temporal and spiritual, and especially the Roman Catholics, who constituted the majority of the population.

The assent of Poland to this political robbery was wrung from the diet in the following year. Such was the chagrin of one of its members, Thaddeus Reyten, the most strenuous opponent of the partition of his country, that, on finding all his efforts unavailing, he lost his reason. The three powers guaranteed the integrity of the territory which they had left to the republic — an engagement which, it is well known, they observed no longer than it suited their convenience. In the scramble, the interests of the Dissidents were totally abandoned; neither Russia nor Prussia taking any step whatever to secure them from the future oppression of the Catholics.

Thus fell Poland, a country containing twelve or thirteen millions of inhabitants, without a struggle on their part, and without a voice being raised against this most iniquitous spoliation by any of the other powers of Europe. Louis XV. looked on quietly, out of complaisance to his mistress; and England was content with securing Danzig and Thorn to the republic for the benefit of her own commerce. I cannot help expressing my conviction that, had a less selfish policy swayed the courts of Berlin and Vienna on this occasion, their forbearance would but have served to facilitate the absorption of all Poland into the dominions of an already too powerful neighbour.

To remove any doubt that may still lurk in the mind of the reader regarding the grand motive which influenced Frederick in this partition, I shall call his attention to a few of the many passages touching on this subject which might be quoted from his correspondence with Voltaire. The vanity of the officious poet had again instigated him to dabble in political affairs, and he would have rejoiced, for the sake of Russia and the regeneration of Greece, if the king, whose grand object was peace, had armed against the Turks. In November, 1769, Frederick writes to him: "I interfere no further than to exhort the confederates to union and peace, and to point out to them the difference there is between persecuting their religion and insisting that they shall not persecute others: in short, I wish Europe to be at peace, and every body satisfied. I really think that I have inherited these sentiments from the late abbé de St. Pierre; and it is possible that, like him, I may be left the only one of my sect:"—in July, 1770—"I am

content to be a looker-on at the great successes of the Russians, and to take advantage of this time of peace to heal completely the wounds inflicted on us by the last war, and which are still bleeding :"—in October, 1773 : "I know that Europe in general regards the partition of Poland as the result of political intrigues which are attributed to me ; yet nothing is more false. Having in vain proposed different expedients, it was absolutely necessary to have recourse to that partition, as the only way to avoid a general war. Appearances are deceitful, and it is by them alone that the public judges. What I tell you is as true as the 48th proposition of Euclid :"—and in September, 1774 : "As to what you add about war, I assure you that nobody in Europe wishes for it ; and that if you would refer to your empress of Russia, as well as to the empress-queen, they would both attest that, but for me, there would be a general conflagration in Europe, or even two. I performed the office of Capuchin, and extinguished the flames. Let this be enough about the affairs of Poland : I could plead this cause before all the tribunals in the world, with the certainty of gaining it. But I keep silence concerning such recent events, as it would be indiscreet to talk of them."

In the fifth volume of his Posthumous Works, the king thus expresses himself : "We will not here expatiate on the rights of the three powers ; it required indeed an extraordinary concurrence of circumstances to induce minds to agree in this partition, by which alone a general war could be avoided :"—and again : "The originals of the negociations, the substance of which I give in this work, are deposited in the archives

of the foreign affairs:" and this testimony of the author of a work not destined for his contemporaries, but for posterity, ought, methinks, to be received as evidence of a conscientious adherence to truth, until circumstances shall permit the publication of the originals to which he refers.

From these declarations of the king himself, as well as from all accounts that can be depended upon, it is clear that Frederick was not the author of the first partition of Poland; that he acceded to it because in so doing he avoided quarrels, and obtained in a most convenient accession to his dominions a compensation for the subsidies which he had paid to Russia. Any man who impartially considers his whole situation, though not a Prussian, must feel disposed to join in the sentiment expressed by Müller, the celebrated historian of Switzerland: "I am far from pretending to excuse what was done to the unfortunate Republic; but, in a political point of view, most may be urged in favour of the king."

Frederick's new acquisitions were called West Prussia, and he changed the title, "King *in* Prussia," borne by himself and his two predecessors, to "King *of* Prussia," being now sovereign of the whole country known by that name. During the following years, his particular attention was devoted to the organization of the province, as well as to the improvement of the condition of its inhabitants. Order and law succeeded anarchy and misrule. The peasantry, till within a few years absolute slaves to their lords, who had the power of life and death over them, were still burdened with services, and debased by ignorance and

sloth. One of the king's first cares was to define the duties which these vassals owed to their superiors, to rouse them by the prospect of bettering their condition to habits of industry, and, by affording the means of instruction, to provide for the gradual diffusion of knowledge.

The due administration of justice was also a subject of the king's especial solicitude. In matters of religion, the principle of universal toleration adopted by Frederick was extended to West Prussia, where the Protestants were delighted to find themselves released from the persecution which they had long suffered from the professors of the Catholic faith. In some places, their churches had been shut up and even taken from them: now, where funds were wanting, the king built places of worship for them at his own expense. The jurisdiction of the Romish clergy was confined to matters which concerned their own communion; a fixed income was allotted to their bishops and abbots; the number of the Catholic holidays was diminished; and an ordinance was issued for the due observance of the sabbath and church-festivals in West Prussia.

The picture which Frederick himself draws of the state in which he found his new subjects is most deplorable. In June, 1775, he thus writes to d'Alembert: "I have seen here a M. de Laval-Montmorency, and a M. Clermont-Gallerande, who appear to me to be very amiable, modest young men, and free from foppery; they have been with me to what I call our Canada, that is, Pomerellia. I dare say on their return they will give the Parisians a fine description of it. Tailors and shoemakers are the virtuosi in request in that country,

because it has none. I am at present founding one hundred and eighty schools, protestant and catholic, and I consider myself as the Lycurgus or the Solon of these barbarians. Only think—in this wretched country the right of property was unknown; instead of laws, the strong oppressed the weak with impunity: but that is over, and good order shall be maintained for the future. The Austrians and Russians found the same confusion in their portions. It is only in time, and with a better education of youth, that it will be possible to civilize these Iroquois."

Few readers, I presume, need any explanation of the practice of wrecking which is pursued occasionally on the shores of our own maritime counties, in defiance of the laws of the land and of humanity. This practice appears to have been regarded as legal on the coasts of Pomerania and Prussia till the conclusion of Frederick's reign. In July, 1783, he issued an ordinance enacting that "the bad custom of the inhabitants of the coast, who, when a vessel has the misfortune to be stranded, take possession of her and all her cargo, and send away the unfortunate crew naked and destitute, when there is any on board, shall be entirely abolished." It is scarcely credible but not the less true that, in a christian country, it was customary for the clergy, in some places near the sea, to offer up public prayers in the churches to the Almighty for a "rich strand."

Trade and commerce received substantial encouragement, and to second their operations a canal between the Oder and the Vistula, completing the water-communication between the Baltic and the North Sea, was

begun in 1772, and completed in a single year, at an expense of about 750,000 dollars, exclusively of the wood for sluices and other purposes furnished by the royal forests.

In 1773 the building of a fortress was commenced near Marienwerder; but the destructive floods of the Vistula caused the work to be abandoned after it had cost 200,000 dollars. A height near Graudenz, commanding the river and the whole surrounding country, was then chosen, and here the king's plans of a fortress were carried into execution at an expense of many millions of dollars.

The solicitude of the king to elevate the moral character in his new province by means of churches and schools, to habituate the people to industry, cleanliness, and order, and to stimulate them by the example of the colonists whom he settled among them, could not fail to produce wholesome fruit. His incessant efforts to improve their condition and to be equally just to all, were likewise crowned with the happiest results. During his life-time there was an increase in the number of dwellings of about 2500. The promotion of the prosperity of West Prussia, which he visited every year, was indeed a favourite object of Frederick's to the very last. Only a few weeks before his death, after expending upwards of seven million dollars upon the province, he assigned 700,000 to repair damage done by inundations, thought of schools and churches that were yet wanting, and, even when struggling with death, expressed to the authorities his joy that "the Prussians begin to be somewhat more industrious and enlightened, and that the manufactures prosper." One promise only which he made

to himself remained unperformed: that was to erect a monument to the bold and original genius, who, in contradiction to the evidence of the senses, made mankind acquainted with the real harmony of the spheres—Nicholas Copernicus.

CHAPTER L.

Coolness between Frederick and the Court of Russia—Visit of the Grand-Duke Paul to Berlin—Pigalle, the French Sculptor—The King cancels the Debts due to him from his Subjects—Claim of the Emperor Joseph to Bavaria—Efforts of the King to defeat it—He declares War against Austria, and once more takes the Field at the head of his Army—He enters Bohemia—The Cabinet of Vienna opens Negociations with him—Retreat of the Prussians from Bohemia—Petty Operations—Conclusion of Peace at Teschen—Moral Influence acquired by the King through his Interference in behalf of Bavaria—Death of Maria Theresa—Visit of the Emperor Joseph to Catherine—Mission of the Prince of Prussia to Petersburg—Frederick accedes to the Armed Neutrality—New Designs of the Emperor against Bavaria defeated by the King—He plans and effects a Confederation of the Princes of Germany against the Ambition of Austria—He Concludes a Treaty with the United States of America—His Conduct in regard to the Disturbances in Holland.

When the powers concerned in the partition of Poland took possession of their share of the spoil, Austria extended her limits beyond the line agreed upon. Prussia followed the example, seized the Netz district, and forced the inhabitants to do homage in May, 1775, in spite of the military demonstrations made by the court of Warsaw. These later acquisitions were viewed with a jealous eye in Petersburg, and, on the remonstrance of Russia, Frederick even restored to Poland a district near Thorn, containing above 7000 inhabitants.

These transactions seemed to have left no very favourable impression on the mind of the empress. France sought to take advantage of it, and Kaunitz himself seized the opportunity to excite discord. In March, 1776, the king, therefore, sent his brother Henry a second time to Petersburg to renew the former cordiality between the two powers. Not only did the amiable

manners and character of the prince soon remove all disharmony, but a mournful event in the imperial family furnished him with an occasion for acquiring a stronger claim to its esteem. This was the death of the consort of the grand-duke Paul, after being delivered of a still-born child. Henry comforted the grand-duke under his affliction, and in time gained a willing ear to his proposal of a new marriage with a princess of Wirtemberg—an important circumstance for Frederick, who had been instrumental in bringing about the former union of the heir to the throne of Russia.

The conduct of prince Henry in the days of tribulation had entitled him anew to the respect of Catherine. She felt grateful to him also for interesting himself about a fresh match for her son. In the beginning of June, Paul set out for Berlin, attended by count Romanzow, prince Kurakin, count Nicholas Soltikoff, and the boyar Narischkin. Prince Henry followed the next day. In Riga, where they met, they found letters from the empress for the king and the prince, and for the princesses of Wirtemberg, but the latter were not to be delivered unless the heart of her son decided in favour of the princess Sophie Dorothee Auguste.

Frederick made great preparations for the reception of the welcome guest. He even purchased handsome lime-trees standing before the houses of citizens in Berlin, and had them removed to Sans-Souci. The number of the pages was increased, and eight new footmen were engaged. General Lentulus, with a numerous retinue, went to Memel, to receive the imperial visiter in the name of the king, and to accompany him to Berlin, where he arrived on the 21st of July. Frederick

went to meet him in front of the quarters prepared for his reception. Paul made a neat complimentary address. "Sire," said he, "the motives which bring me from the far North are a desire to assure you of the friendship which shall for ever unite Russia and Prussia, and anxiety to see a princess who is destined to ascend the throne of the Moscovites. In receiving her from your hands, I venture to promise that this princess will be so much the dearer to me and to the nation over whom she will some day reign. Lastly, I gratify a wish that I have so long cherished — I can contemplate the greatest of heroes, the admiration of our times, and the wonder of posterity."—"My prince," replied Frederick, "I am not deserving of such high encomiums. In me you see only an old, infirm, gray-headed man; but, believe me, that I deem myself extremely happy to receive within these walls the worthy heir of a mighty empire, the only son of my best friend, Catherine the Great."

The king then turned to count Romanzow. "Welcome," said he, "conqueror of the Ottomans! I find a strong resemblance between you and my general Winterfeld." — "Sire," answered the Russian marshal, "it would be very flattering to me to resemble ever so imperfectly a general who has so gloriously distinguished himself in Frederick's service." — "Oh!" rejoined the king, "you ought much rather to be proud of the victories which will transmit your name to the remotest posterity."

The princesses of Wirtemberg had reached Berlin before the grand-duke. The ceremony of the betrothal took place on the 23d of July. A round of splendid festivities was kept up till the departure of the illus-

trious guests, whom prince Henry also sumptuously entertained at Rheinsberg. Thus the former cordiality between the courts of Berlin and Petersburg was renewed. The marriage of the grand-duke with the princess of Wirtemberg was solemnized on the 7th of October in the same year at Petersburg. On joining the Greek church, she took the name of Maria Feodorowna, and became the mother of a numerous family, including the emperors Alexander and Nicholas.

A pleasant anecdote connected with the visit of the imperial prince is related. In Russia, every attendant on the court, nay, every civil officer, has military rank. Thus the minister is field-marshal. Paul's coachman had the rank of major, and was extremely tenacious of his character. The day before his master went from Berlin to Potsdam to see the king's favourite residence, Frederick ordered Anderson, his valet, to accompany Rumaneff in one of the royal carriages to Potsdam, and to entertain him with the best. Anderson went to the coachman, invited him in the politest manner to be of the party, and spoke in glowing terms of the extraordinary things that were to be seen at Potsdam and Sans-Souci. "Certainly," replied Rumaneff, "I shall hold myself in readiness: but, sir, who are you?" — "I am the king's valet-de-chambre." — "Valet-de-chambre! No, sir, I cannot go with a valet-de-chambre. I must have a captain to accompany me." Anderson reported this answer to the king, who laughed heartily, and coolly replied: — "I'll tell you what: we'll just leave him in Berlin. My captains have something else to do." Accordingly, Rumaneff was left behind in Berlin, and never saw Potsdam.

A disappointment of a similar kind befel Pigalle, the celebrated French sculptor, who visited Berlin while the grand-duke was in that capital.

The first work by which Pigalle began to found his reputation was a statue of Mercury, to which he afterwards produced a Venus as a companion. Both statues were presented by Louis XV. in 1748, to the king of Prussia. He was afterwards employed to execute the monument of marshal Saxe, a work which ranks him among the first masters of France. It was not finished till 1776, when he went to Strasburg to superintend its erection. Being almost half way, he resolved to go forward to Berlin, to see the great Frederick, and to look once more at his own statues. Accompanied by an officer of the garrison of Strasburg, he arrived in Berlin the same evening that the king was giving a splendid farewell supper to the grand-duke. All his gold plate was used on this occasion. The weather was extremely hot, and the concourse of persons in the hall where the king and his imperial guest supped incommoded them to such a degree, that Frederick ordered it to be cleared of spectators. At that moment, he perceived among the crowd two persons whom he took to be foreigners: he sent them word that his order did not include them, and that they might stay. These two were Pigalle and his fellow-traveller.

The sculptor was acquainted with Dom Pernety, the king's librarian, and through him obtained admittance, two days afterwards, to the gardens of Sans-Souci. Here they began to walk about, when at some distance they saw the king with a book in his hand, preceded by three little dogs. They would have withdrawn, but the king had

observed them. A page immediately came to ask who they were. Pigalle replied that he was "the author of the Mercury." Frederick, conceiving from the answer that it was M. de la Place, author of the *Mercure de France*, whom he disliked, retired, saying: "I shall have nothing to do with his Mercury, nor with him either." Had Pigalle merely mentioned his name, he would have been cordially welcomed; and he was thus punished for conceiving one of his works to be more celebrated than himself. He saw nothing in Potsdam but his Mercury, which drew from him the remark that he should be very sorry if he could not then produce something better. He quitted Prussia immediately, and the king, on learning the mistake, desired Pernety to write to Pigalle and express his regret for the disappointment.

Notwithstanding all that the king had yet done to promote the welfare of his subjects, there were many who, instead of feeling grateful for his bounty, regarded him with distrust, for the severity of his financial measures, for the strict embargo to which the country was subjected, and for the oppression practised by the obnoxious excise-officers. His paternal sentiments had indeed been manifested in the most unequivocal manner; he had healed with royal munificence the wounds inflicted by a long war; he had given bread, seed-corn, cattle, wood, money, to the distressed; bestowed considerable sums, in numberless cases of emergency, either upon communities or individuals; remitted and reduced taxes, both in the towns and in the country: still there were many, even among the partakers of his bounty, who were apprehensive lest themselves and their children might be called upon to refund what had thus been advanced. Such doubts

could only originate in ignorance of the king's real sentiments and character. The beneficent father of his country put an end to them on the 11th of September, 1776, by cancelling all the debts of his subjects accumulated since the year 1763, to the amount of many millions of dollars, by a public declaration, confirming the gifts that he had bestowed, and renouncing for himself and his successors all claims on account of money advanced, or taxes remitted. Many an eye overflowed, and many a grateful prayer ascended to the throne of the King of Kings; for there was not a district where Frederick's hand had not scattered his bounties—not a town, not a village, where he had not built houses, improved manufactures, given plots of ground, remitted imposts, relieved distress; and this simple declaration banished at once from the hearts of his subjects that distrust which some of them had hitherto been disposed to harbour.

Frederick had rounded his dominions by West Prussia. He saw his kingdom flourishing, the population increasing. He had 186,000 men ready to take the field any day. Sixteen fortresses secured the provinces. The magazines of all kinds, the granaries, and above all the treasury, were constantly full. Russia was an ally on whom he could place more and more dependence, and no European court was adverse to that of Berlin. Vienna alone required vigilant attention. The emperor Joseph strove to imitate the king: this was flattering, but at the same time caused some uneasiness. One day, at Sans-Souci, when the king happened to glance at the bust of the emperor, he observed: "I always keep an eye upon him. That is a young man whom I must not lose sight of. The emperor Joseph possesses mind; he

might accomplish much. Unluckily for himself, he will always take the second step before he has taken the first."

Austria had long coveted the possession of Bavaria, and had more than once, during the 18th century, endeavoured to gain her point by negociation, when the electoral house became extinct by the death of Maximilian Joseph, on the 30th of December, 1777, on which the right of succession devolved to his nearest kinsman, Charles Theodore, elector of the Palatinate, as the head of the elder line of Wittelsbach. He was accordingly proclaimed sovereign by the states. The court of Vienna, eager, as we have seen, to aggrandize itself, no matter at whose expense, trumped up a preposterous and wholly unfounded claim to part of the electorate. An army was marched into the country, and the weak and timid elector, without having even seen the documents on which the imperial court founded its claim, was induced, by the promise of a provision for his numerous natural children, to sign a convention, admitting the right of Austria, and ceding to that power the whole of Lower Bavaria and some other districts. The court of Vienna transmitted an official notification of the whole affair to the king of Prussia, who replied that Brandenburg, as a member of the Empire, and a guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, which, with all other fundamental laws of the Empire, it had confirmed at Hubertsburg, was essentially interested in the dismemberment of an electorate without the co-operation of the Empire.

The rest of Europe cared as little about Bavaria as it had done about Poland. America engrossed the attention of Great Britain and France, Turkey that of Russia: Frederick was the only watchman. The moment he heard

of the death of the elector of Bavaria, he despatched an agent, possessing extraordinary tact, intelligence, and abilities, on a secret mission to Münich and Deuxponts. This was count Görtz, who had been tutor to the heriditary prince of Weimar, and who, not being in the king's service, was not likely to be suspected of coming from him. His instructions were to learn the real sentiments and intentions of the new elector, and of his nearest kinsman and presumptive heir, duke Charles of Deuxponts, relative to the proceedings of Austria. Finding the elector so entirely devoted to Austria, that no impression could be made upon him, Görtz introduced himself to Hofenfels, minister of the duke of Deuxponts at Münich, who had received orders from his master to accede in his name to the convention of Vienna. Hofenfels demurred and remonstrated, but to no purpose. The overtures of Görtz confirmed him in his opposition to the orders of the duke. The latter arrived in Münich, and, induced by Frederick's offer of support in his just claims, he declared to the Prussian envoy that he would never consent to the partition of Bavaria. He refused the order of the Golden Fleece, which was worn in public by the elector, and all the allurements held out by the imperial court to himself and the honest Hofenfels were firmly rejected. He notified his opposition to the cabinet of Vienna and to the Diet, and claimed the support of the whole empire. France loudly approved the duke's resistance, and renewed the subsidiary treaty with him; and, on the 28th of March, Prussia formally engaged to defend with all her power his rights to the entire Bavarian succession against the unjust claims of the house of Austria. On the other hand, he bound himself not to

take any step in the affair without the approbation of the king.

The course pursued by Frederick was not entirely agreeable in Berlin: prince Henry himself would rather have made common cause with Austria than enter into a new and precarious contest. Not so Frederick: his policy was generous and pure; the part of protector of the German empire appeared to him a most important acquisition to his country; and, therefore, though advanced in years, and without any desire for war, he once more drew the sword in behalf of Bavaria, which owes its independence, nay, its very existence, to his disinterested interposition.

During the negociations on this subject, the emperor Joseph, who paid less deference to prince Kaunitz than his mother, sent him to Berlin to bribe the king, if possible, to second the views of Austria, by the offer of indemnities. Kaunitz was ushered into Frederick's presence with a map in his hand, upon which the proposed partition of Bavaria and the indemnity destined for Prussia were marked. The king did not allow the Austrian minister to speak first. "I know," said he, "why your emperor sends you to me. My resolution is taken; my ministers are informed of it; apply to them. I will hear no more about the matter." All the remonstrances of the prince were fruitless. Frederick persisted in his purpose, and refused even to look at the map which Kaunitz had meanwhile untied and spread out on the table. The prince folded up his map in an ill-humour, and took his leave. He had not yet reached the door, when Frederick called him back in a very courteous tone. Concluding that the monarch had changed his mind, he

turned back. "Take this with you," said Frederick, handing him a piece of tape which had been used to tie up the map, and which the prince had left on the table. "*I* do not like to appropriate to myself what belongs to another." Frederick seems to have forgotten Poland in the interest which he felt for Bavaria.

Having in vain employed all the arts of diplomacy, and ascertained that the sentiments of France and Russia were decidedly in his favour, Frederick set his army in motion. On mustering the troops before their departure, he thus addressed the generals: "Gentlemen, most of us have served together from our earliest years; we have grown gray in the service of our country: we are therefore perfectly acquainted with one another. We have already honestly shared the toils and hardships of war, and I am convinced that you are as adverse to shedding blood as myself. But my kingdom is now in danger. As a sovereign, it is my duty to protect my subjects, and to employ the most prompt and energetic means to dispel, if possible, the tempest impending over them. In order to accomplish this important purpose, I reckon upon your patriotic zeal and that attachment to my person which you have always shown, and which hitherto has never been without effect. For the rest, you may be assured that I shall always acknowledge, with a warm heart and sincere gratitude, the services that you may render to your king and country. One thing only I request of you, that is, not to lose sight of humanity, even though the enemy is in your power, and to maintain the strictest discipline among the troops under your command. I am now setting off; but I desire not to travel as king; splendid equipages have no

charm for me: but the infirmities of age forbid me to travel now as I did in the days of ardent youth. I shall be obliged to use a post-chaise, and you are at liberty to do the same; but, on the day of battle, you will see me on horseback, and then, I hope, my generals will follow my example."

On the 6th of April, the king set out for Breslau. The regiments in Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Prussia followed, to join the Silesian army, of which Frederick took the command in person, while his brother Henry, joined by 18,000 Saxons under count Solms, marched by way of Dresden for Bohemia. The Austrians, 100,000 strong, entrenched themselves before the eyes of the emperor himself, who was assisted by Lascy, from Arnau to Königingrätz, while Loudon led another army towards Lusatia. Both parties were provided with an unusual quantity of heavy artillery, and every thing seemed to denote a tremendous conflict.

Before the middle of April, the Silesian army of 30,000 men was assembled between Silberberg and Neisse, where it was joined by the troops from the northern provinces. Frederick's head-quarters were at the village of Schönwalde. The emperor Joseph, who was at Olmütz, probably with the sole view of gaining time till the Austrians had completed their preparations, commenced a direct correspondence with the king, which was kept up for above two months, without leading to any result. At length, the cabinet of Vienna being urgently pressed by the Prussian ambassador for its ultimatum, decided upon an appeal to the sword.

Frederick immediately entered Bohemia, and, after a most arduous march, appeared on the heights of Nachod,

and encamped on the 8th of July, at Welsdorf, near the Elbe. The enemy precipitately fell back without resistance to his entrenchments near Königingrätz, but the Prussian army suffered much from want of water and provisions. The king, like a young officer, was foremost everywhere, and exposed himself to the greatest dangers, even in covering foraging parties. Prince Henry advanced equally unmolested into Bohemia, and took an advantageous encampment near Nimburg; while Loudon, abandoning the posts of Aussig and Dux, and even the fortifications and magazines of Leitmeritz, sought protection behind the rocks and swamps of the Iser.

The cabinet of Vienna had flattered itself that the armament of Prussia was only a demonstration; but the tidings that Frederick was before Nachod dispelled the delusion. "It was a day of terror," says Cogniazo, the Austrian veteran; "I venture not to describe the sensation produced at the imperial head-quarters by the first account of the march of the Prussians into Bohemia, which appeared incredible to the emperor himself." Maria Theresa, recollecting former wars, trembled for the safety of her son and of her son-in-law, duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen; and she despatched baron Thugut, under the assumed character of secretary to prince Gallitzin, the Russian ambassador at Vienna, with pacific propositions to the king.

Neither Frederick nor Joseph was displeased with this mission, though the latter feared lest his mother might be too ready to give way. The king, in his reply, assured the empress that, until he heard again from her, he would so contrive matters that she need feel no ap-

prehension for her blood and for an emperor whom he loved and esteemed, though they had such different views in regard to the affairs of Germany. Thugut was again sent with fresh powers to the king, who referred him to his cabinet-ministers, but their negociations terminated unsuccessfully on the 13th of August. The empress offered to annul the convention with Charles Theodore, and to restore the territories occupied by her troops, if Prussia would relinquish her claim to the reversion of Anspach and Bayreuth.

While awaiting the issue of the negociations, the Prussian armies were quite inactive. Frederick, though the assailant, had no desire to make conquests, or to run the risk of exciting the jealousy of France or Russia by any signal successes: besides, he found himself more infirm even than in later years, and might wish to preserve his old laurels untarnished. The imperial army seemed to be detained by a second Daun upon inaccessible heights. Loudon himself durst not venture forth; and Joseph, who, at a distance, fancied that he could easily eclipse his model, felt shy, when in his presence, of measuring his strength for the first time with the veteran commander. Perhaps, too, he found himself crippled by the refusal of France to take any part in the quarrel and to furnish an auxiliary force of 24,000 men, as he had confidently expected. The Austrians, therefore, were content to remain in their entrenched positions, forming a strong chain before Prague and Vienna, and to prevent any farther advance of the enemy into their territory, which, deserted by the inhabitants, was drained by the invaders without molestation.

This necessity for remaining in an exhausted country,

resulting from the wish to keep the Imperialists during the winter out of Saxony and Silesia, proved highly injurious to the Prussian army. In spite of all the activity and assiduity of Hoym, the Silesian minister, to supply it with provisions, the want of necessaries was very great. Flux and malignant fevers prevailed, and were the more fatal on account of the defective arrangements of the hospitals. Mercenaries, bound by no ties to kindred and country, deserted in troops, and the inactive change of camps thinned the regiments more than sanguinary engagements would have done.

At length, prince Henry broke up from the camp near Nimes on the 10th of September, and Frederick from that near Wildschütz on the 14th, to commence their retreat, which was executed in such a masterly manner as to extort admiration even from the enemy. This movement, in fact, was the principal triumph of the Prussians during the war. The prince of Prussia, who, at the commencement of the retreat, was posted on St. Catherine's hill, particularly distinguished himself. He quitted the post under the most unfavourable circumstances, encamped with extraordinary judgment and resolution on the heights of Pilnikau, and proved himself worthy of the encomiums which Frederick bestows on him in his works. Count Schmettau, in his Memoirs, relates that, when he reported to the king the execution of this retreat, his countenance assumed an air of interest and pleasure which denoted perfect satisfaction. He inquired most minutely whether the fire had been brisk, whether the march had been interrupted at all, whether order had been kept up; in short, it was almost the only incident in the whole campaign that drew from

the king any expression of approbation, because he saw from this beginning, which was a masterly one, what might be hoped from his successor.

A rear-guard action, in which the brigade under general Keller was engaged, is also worthy of mention. The soldiers, though they were surrounded, and had expended all their ammunition, obstinately defended themselves, and were victorious. The king conferred the order of Merit on the gallant leader and all the staff-officers, made a present in money to the privates, and gave the estate of Liebenhausen to general Keller. In the middle of October, the Prussians went into cantonments, and in November into winter-quarters.

In the camp of Schatzlar, which the Prussians occupied from the 21st of September to the 16th of October, the king completed his Eloge on Voltaire, which was read in the following month at an extraordinary meeting of the Academy of Sciences of Berlin, and printed for sale. Here, writes the king to d'Alembert, is that Eloge on Voltaire, "half minuted down in camps, half corrected in winter-quarters. I am afraid that the French Academy will find fault with the language, but how can one speak French well in Bohemia! I have done what I could. The work is not worthy of him whom it is designed to celebrate; but at any rate I have availed myself of the liberty of the pen to have that declaimed publicly in Berlin, which people dare scarcely whisper to one another in Paris."

The winter did not pass quietly. The Austrians, under count Wurmser, made an incursion into the county of Glatz, surprised Habelschwert, beat the succours sent from the fortress of Glatz, and made above a thousand

prisoners, including general prince Adolphus of Hesse-Philippsthal. As the enemy maintained himself in this quarter, so the hereditary prince of Brunswick remained master of the Austrian principalities of Troppau and Jägerndorf, till the conclusion of peace. Count Wallis, after attempting in vain to reduce Neustadt, in Upper Silesia, uselessly burned the town. Lastly, general Möllendorf, belonging to prince Henry's army, made an incursion into Bohemia, routed the advanced posts of the frontier cordon, took Brix, and made several hundred prisoners.

Frederick passed the winter in Breslau, among literary men and books, and engaged with reports from the different provinces of his dominions. While his army was recruiting, he was negociating and turning the politics of Europe to his advantage. The two great powers continued to be well disposed towards him. France even mediated between Russia and the Porte, that Catherine might be permitted to furnish the aid which she had promised to Prussia. The court of Petersburg intimated to that of Vienna and to the Diet that, unless the empress-queen made complete satisfaction to the princes of the Empire on account of their grievances, and especially the invasion of Bavaria, Russia would be compelled to fulfil her engagement, and send, agreeably to treaty, an auxiliary corps to his Prussian majesty.

This was a thunder-stroke for the cabinet of Vienna. Maria Theresa sincerely wished to put an end to the war. At her particular desire, an armistice was concluded early in March, 1779; and the ministers of the mediating and belligerent powers and of the princes in-

terested in the quarrel met at Teschen, on the 10th of the same month. Five weeks were wasted in useless discussion, owing to the unreasonable difficulties raised by some of the minor princes, at the instigation of the emperor Joseph. At length, on the 20th of April, news arrived at Vienna that peace was concluded between Turkey and Russia. Joseph and his plenipotentiary now became more flexible, and on the 13th of May, the birth-day of the empress-queen, peace was signed at Teschen, and proclaimed in Berlin on the 22d. The king returned to his capital on the 27th, went to Charlottenburg on the 30th, and on the 2d of June to Potsdam, to resume his paternal labours for the welfare of his country. He had written in February to le Cat: "This war and this peace are miserable affairs, the work of an old worn-out man, without energy and buoyancy."

Modestly as the king expressed himself concerning a war undertaken in behalf of the independence of Germany, and terminated without battles or sieges, History passes a very different judgment upon it, and extols the disinterested sacrifices made for right and freedom by the provident father of his country, who, for the honour of his crown and people, submitted, for the fourth time, in spite of the infirmities of age, to the toils of war and the hardships of a camp life. This war, which the Prussians called the Potato war, cost Frede ick 29 million dollars and 20,000 men.

By the peace of Teschen, Austria gained that fertile district of Bavaria, situated between the Danube, the Inn, and the Salza, and connecting the archduchy with Tyrol; and, on the other hand, renounced the convention of the 3d of January, 1778, and her other claims.

Saxony was to be paid in the course of twelve years six million florins by the elector of the Palatinate, in compensation of claims upon the allodial property of the late elector of Bavaria; and Mecklenburg, which had preferred a claim to the landgravate of Leuchtenberg, was obliged to be content with the *privilegium de non appellando*, which rendered its courts of justice independent of those of the German empire. Though neither acquisition nor compensation entered into Frederick's views, yet, as Anspach and Bayreuth had been mixed up by Austria in the affair of Bavaria, his claim to the reversion of those margravates was acknowledged by the 10th article of the peace of Teschen.

But, if Frederick derived no material gain from his conduct in the affair of the Bavarian succession, it acquired him a vast increase of moral influence, and won the confidence and friendship of his co-estates in a far higher degree than ever he had enjoyed them. Even those who had viewed with jealousy the rising greatness of the house of Brandenburg now contemplated it with satisfaction; for they beheld in that house a new guardian of the liberties of Germany. In near and distant countries the epithet of "the Great" was attached to the name of Frederick. In Bavaria he was almost worshipped. In the cottages of the peasants, his portrait was hung beside that of St. Corbinian, the patron-saint of the country, and frequently there was a lighted lamp beneath each. At this sight, an Austrian officer once asked in a village of Bavaria what it meant. "This," replied the master of the house, "is the patron and protector of Bavaria in heaven; and this here, Frederick, king of Prussia, is our patron and protector on earth: both are

our saints, and before saints, we, as good catholics, burn lights."

There was one who richly deserves to share with Frederick the admiration of the world, and more especially that of every Bavarian—one, but for whose firmness the interposition of the Prussian monarch would have been too late. This was Hofenfels, minister of the duke of Deuxponts, who saved the country from partition, who secured the throne to the legitimate prince, and whose integrity is the more meritorious, because, though poor and without any prospect of acquiring a fortune, he refused the sum of 400,000 florins, which he might have pocketed without danger, if not without reproach, by the mere execution of his master's order to sign the convention of Vienna.

An incident having a personal relation to the king, which occurred during the campaign of 1778, was commemorated in a picture painted for prince Henry by Rode, director of the Berlin Academy of Arts. One day, Frederick had been bled: in the afternoon there was a brisk cannonade, and the king himself rode to the spot at which it was directed. The vein began to bleed afresh, and he alighted from his horse to have it bound up by a surgeon who happened to be at hand. During the operation, a ball fell very near him. The surgeon trembled with fright. "This man," observed the king, smiling to those about him, "cannot have yet seen many cannon-balls."

A trait of the king's benevolence, even to enemies, must not be omitted. Learning in the spring of 1779 that the inhabitants of that part of Bohemia which his army had occupied and drained of provisions in the pre-

ceding year were in extreme distress, and in absolute want of corn for sowing, Frederick threw open to them his magazines situated near the frontiers. Here they might, as it best suited them, either purchase grain at a very moderate price, or return the like quantity when they should have got in the next harvest.

Maria Theresa did not long survive the pacification of Teschen. In the last years of her life she had made advances to the empress of Russia, and, notwithstanding the moral aversion which she felt for Catherine, paid her the most flattering compliments. After her decease, in 1780, Joseph, now sole ruler of the Austrian dominions, hoped to forward his own ambitious projects by cultivating assiduously the friendship of the czarina. This was no more than Frederick had anticipated; hence the regret which he expressed at the death of his illustrious adversary was doubly sincere. "I am sorry," he writes to d'Alembert, "for the death of the empress-queen: she has done honour to the throne and to her sex. I have been at war with her, but never been her enemy." To his cabinet-ministers he says: "Maria Theresa is no more; with this event commences a new order of things..... As for the emperor, the son of this great woman, I have seen him, and he appeared to me too enlightened to rush rashly into enterprises. I esteem him, but I do not fear him."

But if Frederick was not afraid of the emperor, he never lost sight of him. In September, 1779, he sent count Görtz, who had displayed extraordinary diplomatic ability in the affair of the Bavarian succession, as his ambassador to Petersburg. He was instructed to sound Catherine's minister, count Panin, as to the practicabi-

lity of an alliance between Russia, Prussia, and the Porte, for the defence and guarantee of their respective possessions. Görtz assured the king that such a union was utterly impossible; as the empress was merely taking advantage of the peace with Turkey to make fresh preparations for executing her grand design of seating a prince of her family on the throne of Constantinople. When the Prussian ambassador took an opportunity to allude very slightly to the subject, Panin expressed his extreme astonishment; and though the king dropped the idea, Catherine had but too clearly perceived that the real drift of Frederick's policy was the preservation of the Turks. Potemkin, too, the reigning favourite of the Russian empress, won by the flattering distinctions conferred by the court of Vienna, was decidedly hostile to that of Berlin.

With a view to crush the Prussian and French interests, and to improve the good understanding between the two imperial courts, Joseph, with Catherine's consent, paid her a visit, in May, 1780, at Mohilew, while she was making a tour through her recently acquired Polish provinces. The emperor contrived by the most engaging flattery to render himself so agreeable, that a cordial and urgent invitation to Petersburg was the consequence. It was accepted by Joseph, and his visit was prolonged till the end of July. It was easy for him to discover that the empress attached greater value to an alliance with the house of Austria than to that which had hitherto subsisted with Prussia. The latter was not renewed, because she could not expect Frederick to countenance her plans for wresting Greece from the Porte, and eventually founding a new eastern empire on

the ruins of the Turkish power; whereas she might expect every assistance from the emperor, after his mother's death: while he might on his part indulge the flattering prospect of restoring the western empire, by adding Italy and Rome to his already extensive dominions.

Though Catherine and Potemkin were strongly prepossessed in favour of an Austrian alliance, yet the steady attachment to Russia which Frederick had shown during the war with the Turks and the Poles, and his own exalted character, had won him such durable respect, that a friendly feeling towards him was still entertained at the court of Petersburg; and, with a view to improve it, he resolved, on the recommendation of count Görtz, to send his nephew, Frederick William, to that capital. The count met the prince at Narva, and furnished him with a masterly written sketch of the Russian court, as a guide through the intricacies of its policy, and the conflicting interests and passions of its principal characters. To the royal envoy the mission to Petersburg was a ticklish and by no means agreeable errand. It served indeed to strengthen the friendship already subsisting with the grand-duke Paul; and, by his amiable manners, the prince ingratiated himself with count Panin and most of the Russian grandees; but the empress and Potemkin were too intent on their eastern schemes and too much devoted to Austria to feel a warm interest for an old and stedfast ally. The presence of the prince became irksome to Catherine; and she cut short his visit without ceremony, and without allowing him the gratification of staying over the grand-duke's birthday.

Thus, to please Austria, the alliance with Prussia was

not renewed; but Catherine had no wish to break with the king. A lukewarm intercourse was kept up between the two powers; but when, in 1782, the grand-duke, by the significant appellation of count of the North, made the tour of Europe with his consort, and stayed a considerable time in Vienna, he was not permitted to visit Berlin, to which his fondest recollections were attached.

Ever since the peace of Hubertsburg, England had, like Prussia, found herself in a secluded position and in need of allies. These were rendered still more desirable by the war in which she was engaged, not only with her own revolted colonies, but also with France and Spain. The courts of Vienna and Petersburg had it in their power to render her most service, but negociations with them could not be expected to succeed unless France were detached from Austria, and Russia from Prussia. Sir James Harris, afterwards earl of Malmesbury, an able diplomatist, who had recently been secretary of embassy in Berlin, was sent ambassador to Petersburg to forward this object. He was instructed to show a favourable disposition to the ambitious schemes of Catherine, for annihilating the Turkish power, and placing her second grandson on the throne of Constantinople: but he soon perceived that count Panin, her principal minister, was solicitous for the maintenance of peace, in the exhausted state of his country and its finances, owing to the late war with the Porte, and that he was firmly attached to Prussia.

Just at this time, in November, 1779, two Russian vessels, the Concordia and the St. Nicholas, bound to the Mediterranean with corn, were seized by Spanish

privateers, who alleged that the cargo was destined for the English at Gibraltar. On this subject the empress addressed two notes to de Normandès, the Spanish chargé d'affaires at her court, demanding satisfaction for the two vessels. These notes may be considered as the first documents relating to what was afterwards termed "the armed neutrality."

The British envoy found means to gain the ear and influence of prince Potemkin, who, though no longer the personal favourite of the sovereign, yet possessed a decided preponderance in the Russian cabinet. He urged upon him the expediency of equipping a fleet of 15 sail of the line and 6 frigates to take revenge for the refusal of satisfaction. Panin, without whose knowledge this fleet was equipping, agreed in the propriety of taking revenge against Spain: he went still further, and by a masterly stroke of diplomacy counteracted the designs of the English ambassador and Potemkin, by directing the efforts of the empress into another track. He laid before her the plan of a confederacy of the maritime powers, which should not only unite their interests with those of Russia, but insure her considerable commercial advantages and a signal satisfaction from Spain. The boundless ambition of Catherine led her to approve this plan, which was to be kept secret. Panin, however, despatched the declaration immediately to the courts of London, Versailles, and Madrid.

In this piece, her imperial majesty declared that she found it necessary to remove those vexations which were offered to the commerce of Russia, as well as to the liberty of commerce in general, by all the means compatible with her dignity and the welfare of her subjects;

but, in order to prevent misunderstandings, before she resorted to serious measures, she thought it right to acquaint all Europe with the principles which she had adopted for her conduct. These were: That neutral ships should enjoy a free navigation, even from port to port, and on the coasts of the belligerent powers; that all effects belonging to the subjects of the belligerent powers are free on board neutral ships, with the exception of contraband, which is confined to arms and ammunition of war; that the term blockaded port shall apply to such places only before which a number of enemy's ships are actually stationed near enough to make the entry dangerous; and that these principles shall serve as rules in the judicial proceedings and sentences upon the legality of prizes.

The empress declared that, being firmly resolved to maintain these principles, she had ordered a considerable part of her naval force to be fitted out for the protection of the honour of her flag, and the security of the commerce and navigation of her subjects. She added that this measure would not affect the strict neutrality which she was resolved to observe, so long as she should not be provoked to depart from it; in that extremity only her fleet would be ordered to act wherever her honour, interest, and necessity should require.

This document was communicated to the States General of Holland, and also to the courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon, who were invited by Catherine to make common cause with her, in order that the navigation of all the neutral trading nations might be established and legalized agreeably to a system founded on justice, and which, from its real advantage, might serve as a rule for future ages.

This proceeding undid all that the British ambassador in Petersburg had been labouring to accomplish. The declaration of the empress, coming as it did instead of the expected treaty, produced in London an impression so much the more unfavourable. Though evidently levelled at the naval power of England, a civil answer was returned. By the other courts it was cordially received. Spain gave perfect satisfaction to the empress, and acceded to the armed neutrality. Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, did the same. Count Panin now solicited in his own name the accession of Prussia, with a view to unite his court more closely with that of Berlin, and to give greater weight and importance, by means of Frederick's name, to the system of neutrality which he had originated. The king, reluctant to enter into engagements in the performance of which, having no fleet, he could not take an active part, politely excused himself for declining the invitation. This refusal was not disagreeable to Catherine, who, on account of her policy in regard to Turkey, wished rather to avoid any new connexion with Prussia as well as the prolongation of the old alliance. As, however, Denmark represented that the accession of Prussia and even Austria, though they had no fleets, would give consequence to the northern league, the court of Russia sent a formal invitation to this effect to Frederick. No specific return being demanded for the protection assured to the Prussian trade, the king readily concluded a separate convention with Russia, which was signed at Petersburg by count Görtz on the 8th of May, 1781.

As the seizure of neutral vessels by English ships during the American war suggested the idea of this con-

federacy, so it dissolved of itself, on the conclusion of peace, without having led to any particular result. It was again taken up, at a later period, in December, 1800, by Russia, in conjunction with Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia; but the death of the emperor Paul and Nelson's victory at Copenhagen broke up the league.

The principal point in dispute repecting neutrals is this: whether an enemy's property may be taken on board neutral ships. England maintains the affirmative, in opposition to Russia, France, America, and almost all the other powers, who insist that the flag covers the cargo, and that a free ship makes free goods. Much discussion has also been excited by the right claimed by England of searching vessels sailing under convoy, and the right of declaring whole tracts of coast in a state of blockade. Her steady adherence to these principles during the last war induced Napoleon to resort to his notorious continental system, which fell with him; and a chapter prescribing the principles to be pursued towards neutrals by belligerents is still wanting in the law of nations.

The emperor Joseph, though baffled by Frederick's sense of justice and firmness in the attempt to seize Bavaria as his right, had not relinquished his designs upon that country, and he devised a new plan for securing the coveted possession. He proposed to the imbecile elector, Charles Theodore, an exchange of Upper and Lower Bavaria, the Upper Palatinate, the principalities of Neuburg and Sulzbach, and the landgravate of Leuchtenberg, comprising 16,700 square miles, with 1,300,000 inhabitants, and yielding a revenue of six million florins,

for the Austrian Netherlands, excepting Luxemburg and Namur, inferior by one half in extent and revenue. This inequality was to be compensated by the empty title of king of Burgundy and the payment of three million florins in ready money.

Having obtained the consent of the elector to this arrangement, the court of Vienna caused the plan to be communicated to his presumptive heir, the duke of Deuxponts, demanding his final resolution within eight days, and intimating that, as it was sure of the consent of the elector, the measure would be carried into effect under the guarantee of France and Russia, whether he approved it or not. No mention was made of Prussia and the Empire. The high-spirited duke replied that he would never be a party to so injurious a contract. He had recourse to the king of Prussia, to whom, in the first days of 1785, he communicated the preceding particulars. He also transmitted to him a memorial addressed to the empress of Russia, explaining circumstantially the motives of his opposition, beseeching her, as a guarantee of the peace of Teschen, to desist from this scheme, and to prevail on the emperor to give it up. Frederick directed count Görtz to present this memorial to the vice-chancellor, count Ostermann, to express the king's surprise at the subject of it, and to support the petition of the duke of Deuxponts with the most cogent arguments. The empress then signified to the court of Berlin, through her ambassador, prince Dolgoruki, that she should not have sanctioned this exchange, which she deemed advantageous to both parties, unless both had freely consented to it. The French cabinet returned the like answer to the remonstrances of the duke, which

were supported by Prussia. The ministers of Louis XVI. had all of them declared the exchange prejudicial to the interests of France as well as to the liberty of Germany and Italy, when the king asked the opinion of each of them individually.

This opposition deterred the emperor: he desisted from his purpose, but no written or explicit assurance on the subject could be obtained from him. The intention he could not deny; but he contented himself with declaring that he never had thought and never should think of a compulsory exchange.

Against a scheme so unjust to the future heirs of Bavaria and so dangerous to the Empire, Frederick could not but protest. It would have made Joseph master of nearly the whole course of the Danube and the whole south of Germany, and the spirit of encroachment would scarcely have stopped there. As an effectual check to that spirit, the king had, previously to this affair, been engaged in planning a confederation of the princes of the Empire, for the preservation of its legitimate constitution, and for their mutual defence against the usurpations, encroachments, and violence of superior power. The circular explanatory of this plan, addressed to the different courts, received a cordial welcome throughout the Empire. Kaunitz, indeed, complained falsely of unjust accusations, and strove, by means of the Austrian ambassadors at the German courts, to gain their confidence for the emperor. His efforts were fruitless. Joseph's arbitrary proceedings had produced too strong an impression: the princes turned, full of confidence, towards Berlin, and Frederick proved himself worthy of the honour.

In the autumn of 1784, when the marquis de Bouillé was at Potsdam, the king had expressed a wish that France would accede to this confederation. Louis XVI. and count de Vergennes could not make up their minds on the subject. Meanwhile, Prussia gave a favourable reception to the overtures of England, and when de Bouillé came to Berlin in the following summer, Lord Cornwallis was hourly expected, with full powers, to conclude a definitive treaty.

The confederation was joined by almost all the princes of Germany who were not prevented by their connexion with Austria or Russia. It included the electors of Saxony, Hanover, Mentz, and Brandenburg, of course; the dukes of Deuxponts, Mecklenburg, Brunswick, Gotha, and Weimar; the margraves of Anspach and Baden; the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the princes of Anhalt, and the duke of York, as bishop of Osnaburg.

This was the last grand political lesson that Frederick gave to his contemporaries. Like the dying father, who put into the hands of his sons a bundle of sticks, which, when bound together, defy the mightiest efforts, but singly may be broken with ease, he taught them by it this simple and important truth, that by unity alone can Germany protect herself against enemies, either external or internal.

After the conclusion of peace between the United States of America and England, three of the leading men of the new republic, Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson, were sent to Europe, to conclude commercial treaties with the different powers. These, however, partly ignorant of the inexhaustible sources of trade possessed

by North America, partly doubting the stability of the new state, declined entering into any negociations. Frederick alone concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with the three deputies of the Congress, which was signed by them and by Thulemeier, his ambassador at the Hague, on the 10th of September, 1785.

This is a truly remarkable document, in which were developed principles equally worthy of both the contracting parties. It prohibited privateering, wrecking, or the practice of plundering stranded vessels and goods; it particularly defined the course to be pursued in regard to the peaceable citizens of either state residing in the other in case of hostilities; and, in a spirit of humanity deserving of general imitation, it prescribed the mode in which prisoners of war were to be treated.

William V., stadtholder of the United Provinces, had married, in 1767, the king's niece, Wilhelmine, daughter of the prince of Prussia. In his Memoirs since the Peace of Hubertsburg, Frederick says of this match, that "it could not have any influence over politics, as its sole object was to procure a suitable settlement for a princess of the family." The efforts of her husband, a prince of no ability, to increase his authority, raised political opponents, who styled themselves patriots. During the war in which the republic was involved in 1780 with England, its ancient commercial foe, the stadtholder was accused of attachment to George III.: the decline of the navy, and the failure of military enterprises, were also laid to his charge. It was alleged that the fortresses and land forces were likewise neglected, notwithstanding the probability of a rupture with Austria. The republicans reckoned upon the support of

France. Anti-Orange clubs and civic militia sprang up all over the country, and in 1782 the rights of the stadtholder were every where circumscribed.

The prince applied to Frederick for advice and assistance, but the king showed on this occasion, as in the whole history of his life and in his works, that his policy was not to be biassed by family connexions, and that no considerations could induce him to interfere, uncalled-for, in the internal affairs of foreign powers. From the commencement of 1783, indeed, the cabinet of Berlin had in writing recommended conciliatory measures. The States replied, that the king was not accurately acquainted with the principles of their constitution. "These people are not wrong," remarked Frederick, laughing; "I never did study their constitution." Still he continued to advocate moderation. He advised the prince of Orange, in confidence, to gain good-will and respect by forbearance and generosity. "With these," said he, "you will, like your great ancestors, from whom I account it an honour to be descended, have sufficient weight and influence in all public affairs." He exhorted his niece to keep her consort aloof from all violent councillors and resolutions. "Nothing," he said, "could be of more service to the prince than if she were to gain hearts for him by courtesy and condescension; these are the only conquests worthy of a clever and amiable woman."

The king's persuasions were fruitless. The patriots became more and more exorbitant in their demands. In October, 1784, duke Louis of Brunswick, brother of the queen of Prussia, was obliged to resign his appointments and to go to Germany; in September, 1785, the

chief command of the troops at the Hague was taken from the stadtholder, and he was forced to quit that place which was his usual residence. Frederick's appeals in his behalf to the states of Holland and West Friesland were utterly disregarded. His successor pursued a different course. No sooner had he ascended the throne than he sent count Görtz as ambassador extraordinary to Holland; but, seeing no signs of returning tranquillity, and his sister personally insulted, he despatched an army of 24,000 men, under the duke of Brunswick, who, in a few weeks, reduced the republic, which, in the 16th century, had withstood all the efforts of Philip II., and in the 17th, the arms of Louis XIV., but which had now neither able leaders nor determinate objects.

CHAPTER LI.

State of the King's Health—Extracts from Letters to Voltaire on the subject—Severe Attack of Gout in 1775—Impatience of the Austrian Court for his Death—Spies employed by it in Berlin—Reports of his Condition by the King himself, from his Correspondence with d'Alembert—His Neglect of Diet—His Notions respecting the Medical Profession—Dr. Tralles and Dr. Baylies—The King's Pretensions to Medical Knowledge—Further Change in his Habits in his last Years—Scrupulous Performance of his Duties—His Extraordinary Parsimony in Regard to his own Person—Plan for reducing the Salaries of Public Officers, how received by him—Visit of the Prince de Ligne—His Conversations with the King—The Marquis de Bouillé—His Character of Frederick—The Count de Segur; his Description of the King's Person—The Duke of York, and other distinguished Visiters.

Soon after Frederick's accession to the throne, that is to say, at the age of little more than twenty-eight, he had attacks of gout and hemorrhoids. The former, after some time, became regular, and bleeding and mild aperients were employed against the latter. In February, 1747, he was seized with hemiplegia, which easily yielded to the antiphlogistic treatment, and of which he had no recurrence. From that period till 1785, the king enjoyed almost uninterrupted health, setting aside the two complaints above mentioned, which had become his permanent companions. Both returned almost every year; and each time with increased violence, especially the gout, of which he generally cured himself by abstinence in eating and drinking, perspiration, and gentle evacuants. In March, 1770, Sir Andrew Mitchell, writing to lord Rochford, mentions that the king was then recovering from a severe indisposition. "He was seized, I am told, with a fit of the gout and the emerods

at the same time; but that monarch is now thought out of all danger, into which he had thrown himself by the taking of some medicines of his own prescription, and, by what I have heard, was in more danger from the medicines than from the distempers." The more painful his disorder, the more mild, kind, and condescending he was to his attendants; and it was always a sign of amendment, when he was ill-tempered towards those with whom, during his sufferings, he had been perfectly satisfied.

Full well was Frederick aware that his ordinary complaints and age were undermining his constitution. He frequently observed, that man ought not to indulge unreasonable pretensions, and wish to live for ever; that a church-clock is composed of steel and iron, but yet lasts not much longer than twenty years. As Vespasian said, when expiring, that an emperor ought to die standing, so Frederick wished that his life might end suddenly, before he was incapacitated for the duties of his station; at the same time, he was always cheerful, and always active.

In his letters to Voltaire and d'Alembert, both of them old and ailing like himself, he frequently adverted to his bodily complaints, his remedies, and his approaching end. To the former he wrote in 1765: "I am ill, and am curing myself by diet and patience. Nature decrees that our species should pay death a yearly tribute of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This is an irrevocable law, against which the faculty will strive in vain; and, though I have a very high opinion of M. Tronchin's skill, he himself cannot deny that there are few specific remedies, and that, every thing duly considered, neither herbs nor mineral

powders can either renew or repair the springs that are worn out by time and half destroyed. The ablest physicians give the patient medicine to soothe his imagination, and then cure him by means of diet. As I have found since I have been ill that elixirs and draughts are of no use whatever, I subject myself to a rigid diet, and have thus far experienced great benefit from it."

In 1767: "One gets old here very fast, my dear Voltaire. Since the times that you recollect, things are amazingly altered. My stomach can digest scarcely any thing, and I have therefore been obliged to give up suppers. I read in the evening, or pass the time in conversation. My hair is become white; my teeth are dropping out, my legs are crippled by the gout; I merely vegetate, and daily see that it makes a material difference whether one is 40 or 56 years old. Take into account, too, that, since the peace, I have been overloaded with business, so that nothing is left in my head but a little common sense and a reviving passion for the arts and sciences, which are my delight and consolation."

In 1773, Jan. 26: "I get my letters copied, because my hand begins to shake; besides, my small writing might distress your eyes." On the 9th of October: "I perceive with pain that it is very nearly twenty years since your departure from this place. Your imagination pictures me to you as I then was; but, were you to see me, you would find, instead of the young man who seemed always disposed to dance, an infirm, emaciated old fellow. I am losing daily part of my existence, and am insensibly approaching that abode whence none ever returned to give us a description of it." On the 21st of November: "M. Guibert saw me with youthful eyes,

and they have made me younger. My hair is growing white, my strength declines, my fire is going out."

In 1774: "Bodies which, like mine, are worn down by complaints, cannot make so much resistance as those which have been spared by a regular life, and kept in good condition. But that is my least concern; for, as soon as the movement of the machine has ceased, it is all the same whether it has existed six centuries or ten days. It is of more consequence whether one has lived well, and has nothing very bad to reproach one's self with."

In 1775 he writes to d'Alembert: "You were alarmed without occasion, my dear Anaxagoras. I had only some fits of fever and a cold, of which the journey to Prussia has entirely cured me. Depend upon it, there can be no health without exercise. Travelling is a more effectual remedy than ipecacuanha and bark. If you would but come to us, you would recover your strength. An old fellow, tolerably lively for his age, would communicate his good-humour to you, and you would go back to Paris ten years younger than you came."

Towards the end of the last-mentioned year, severe fits of gout affected his right hand to such a degree as to prevent him from signing his name. In this case, unlike his predecessors, who, under similar circumstances, caused papers to be signed by the heir-apparent, or some other person, Frederick had a particular seal affixed in his presence to all cabinet orders, with a written explanation to that effect, and of the reason why it was done. Between September, 1775, and May, 1776, he had eighteen fits of his painful complaint.

During this interval, the state of the king's health was a subject of anxious speculation at the court of Vienna.

Baron van Swieten, the imperial ambassador, was continually holding out to his master fresh hopes of Frederick's decease. Towards the end of 1775, when the king's disorder was most violent, van Swieten, who supposed the complaint to be dropsy, wrote word to his court that he could not outlive the year, and the imperial troops were immediately set in motion.

It was no doubt in allusion to this impatience of the Austrian court that, in writing soon afterwards (1776) to Voltaire, Frederick observes: "It is likely that there are people in the world for whom I live too long, and who therefore misrepresent my health, because they imagine that, if they talk a great deal about it, I might take the dangerous leap as speedily as they wish. Louis XIV. and XV. tired the patience of the French by their long reigns. I have now been thirty-six years at the helm: perhaps I abuse, like them, the privilege of life, and am not complaisant enough to retire when people are weary of me. I still adhere to my old habit of not sparing myself. The more care one takes of one's self, the more delicate and the weaker the constitution becomes. My situation demands labour and activity. My body and my mind bow under my duty. It is not necessary that I should live, but it is that I should be actively employed. I have always derived benefit from this course. Nevertheless, I prescribe it to no man, but am content to follow it myself."

Such was the solicitude of the court of Vienna to gain information of the state of the king's health at this time, that it kept regular spies for this special purpose, besides the ambassador, at Berlin and Potsdam; and, if we may believe Thiébault, Frederick was well aware of the er-

rand of some of these strangers. We are told by that writer that, among other visiters who came to Berlin, was an Italian marquis, who had translated into his native tongue Frederick's poem "On War." This foreigner had been some weeks in the capital when the king arrived from Potsdam, having some symptoms of an attack of the gout. He wrote to Philippi, president of police, desiring him to order this traveller to continue his journey, as he had been quite long enough in the country to make himself acquainted with it. The marquis was extremely mortified at this intimation. He represented that he had done nothing to incur such an affront; besides, he had contracted some debts, and was waiting for remittances to pay them; and surely the king would not wish any of his subjects to be ruined. Philippi, having granted a delay of a few days, communicated the circumstance to the king, who ordered him to demand of this foreigner an accurate statement of what he owed in Berlin. He accordingly furnished a statement amounting to two hundred ducats, which was sent to Frederick, who ordered one half to be struck off, saying the other would be sufficient to pay all he owed, and ordering him to set out the next day. The king knew precisely the amount of the debts of this marquis; he knew, moreover, that he was a spy of the emperor Joseph's, sent to gain accurate and speedy information of the state of the old king, whose death was ardently wished for in Vienna. He had suffered him to remain while he was in health, but the apprehension of a violent fit of the gout induced him to send off so inconvenient a witness.

In the following year, after the carnival, an Italian

musician, a very clever performer, arrived at Potsdam. Count Pinto, who had heard him, was filled with such admiration, that, at dinner with the king, he mentioned this stranger as a man of wonderful abilities. "Well," said Frederick, "as he is such an extraordinary musician, bring him this evening to the concert." The count was delighted, and the musician still more so. On his arrival, the king began to talk to him about music, at the same time walking with him up and down the concert-room for a full hour, so that there was no concert that evening. But great was the astonishment of the stranger next morning, on receiving a message purporting that, as he had seen and done all that he had to see and do at Potsdam, he was ordered to set out that same day, and to continue his journey. The king knew that this musician, too, was an emissary of Joseph's, and, being then very well, he had purposely shewn that he could walk for a length of time with all the ease of a young man, and that he possessed some skill in unmasking his enemies.

The following passages, extracted from letters to d'Alembert, continue the series of reports of the king's state of health, furnished by himself, down to the year in which the death of his friend put an end to the correspondence.

In 1776: "I have had the erysipelas in my leg, where a large abscess has formed below the knee: an operation was necessary, and the wound will close in a few days. You judge quite right that it is my intention to be serviceable to my country and my contemporaries during the short time that I have yet to live. Man ought to assist his brethren wherever it lies in his

power; that is the essence of morality: and a well regulated heart will not be satisfied with itself unless it performs this duty."

In 1777: "I have not quite recovered my health yet. I have had an abscess in the ear, which was extremely painful. Nature sends us illness and affliction to wean us from this life, which we are doomed to leave. I understand her at half a word, and resign myself to her will."

March 26th, 1780: "As for my health, you will naturally conclude that at the age of 68 I must feel the infirmities of age. Sometimes gout, sometimes sciatica, sometimes a one-day fever, amuse themselves at the expense of my constitution and prepare me to quit the worn-out case of my soul. It seems to be the intention of Nature to disgust us with life by means of the infirmities which she sends us towards the end of our days. In this case, one must say with Marcus Aurelius, that one submits without murmuring to whatever the laws of Nature impose upon one."—August 1st: "You say, my dear Anaxagoras, that you have lost some of the internal vigour which you possessed in 1763: so have I, and that is the fate of all old people. I lose my memory for names; the vivacity of my mind decreases; my legs are in a sad state; my eyes grow dim, and I have vexations like all other men: but all this catalogue of infirmities and afflictions does not prevent me from being cheerful; and my countenance shall wear a smile when I am in my coffin."

March 17, 1782: "You are not so ill informed about my condition as you imagine. I have had a violent attack of gout in the right hand and the right foot; and

as misfortune is always productive of some good, the inability to use my right hand has obliged me to have recourse to my left, with which I have learned to write legibly. This acquirement and the exercise of patience are all the advantage that I have derived from my last illness. I call to mind the wise precepts of the Portico, though I cannot in a moment of racking pain exclaim with Posidonius: 'O gout, rage as thou wilt, never will I confess that thou art an evil!' I am content to bear the pain without complaining of it, and without denying its existence." — December 30th: "I expect shortly a visit from Madame Gout, who is by no means an agreeable companion. Ah! my dear d'Alembert, our letters formerly were not full of our infirmities, nor of the progress of our decay: now every day robs us of part of our existence."

In 1783: "The Muses were the daughters of Memory, to denote that without memory all the faculties of the mind are useless. As for me, I am every day quarrelling with my memory, and trying to recal it against its will at moments when it would fain escape me. Every thing convinces us of the frailty of our nature, of the little that we are, and of the Infinite into which we are hastening to plunge."

Thus we see the great king suffering with resignation, fond of life, but not afraid of death. At the same time we find him in his later years grievously neglecting one point on which he had himself formerly laid particular stress—namely, attention to diet, and to the quality as well as the quantity of the viands off which he dined. In fact, this command over his appetite the king never did acquire, though there is no doubt that it would have

tended to prolong his valuable life and to mitigate his bodily ailments. The consequences of indulgence in the pleasures of the table were frequent obstructions of the bowels and colic, for which he would have recourse to his favourite medicines, rhubarb, Glauber salt, and antimonial wine. If these failed to afford relief, a physician was sent for, and if he recommended diet the royal patient was angry.

When at Breslau, after the termination of the Bavarian succession war, he was one day seized with cramp in the stomach and colic. Dr. Möhsen, his physician, was sent for. Having examined the state of his illustrious patient, he said that it would be advisable for his majesty to abstain from Parmesan cheese, till suitable remedies should have given the stomach greater power of digestion. "What the devil!" exclaimed the king, in a loud and angry tone, "do you mean to reprimand me? Get you gone; I have no further occasion for you." Möhsen, thus unceremoniously dismissed, returned forthwith to Berlin, where, with his extensive practice, his absence had been severely felt. At the commencement of his last illness, his physician, Dr. Selle, was treated in precisely the same manner.

The saying of the son of Sirach, that "The skill of the physician shall lift up his head, and in the sight of great men he shall be in admiration," has not always been verified. Charlemagne disliked physicians, because in the last years of his life they advised him to abstain from roast meat, of which he was very fond, and to eat boiled in its stead. Napoleon called the medical science a mere groping about in the dark, and declared that all physicians are charlatans. In Frederick we find a sin-

gular contradiction with reference to this subject; for though he expressed all his life a contempt for physicians and their art, both orally and in his works, yet he always sent for them when he was ill. It is still more extraordinary that, though he regarded medicine as quackery, he was fond of reading medical works, had a high opinion of his own skill, and was liberal of advice to his friends and his soldiers. When in the company of physicians, he would frequently put very captious questions; and against his witty sallies, his sound views, and his extensive reading, even the cleverest men were obliged to be upon their guard.

In 1757, the king's brother Ferdinand was seized with an inflammatory fever, and was attended by Dr. Tralles, at Breslau. Frederick, when he called to see his brother, spoke with the physician about the complaint, and examined him as though he had belonged to the faculty. Among the questions that he asked him was one which he was accustomed to put to every medical practitioner. "You cannot deny," said he, "that every doctor must fill a churchyard before he can cure a patient. Now tell me, was your churchyard large, and is it filled yet?"

"My churchyard was very small, and was filled long ago."

"How did you manage that?"

"I considered that life was the most valuable thing which a man possesses, and that he can lose it but once. If it was committed to my care, and I perceived that it was in danger of being lost, I sought the advice of older and more experienced physicians than myself. If

the patient, nevertheless, died; he did not come to my churchyard."

"That was wisely done; but depend upon it, let us follow what profession we will, we are sure to make blunders at first. But that man is wise who commits a fault of a particular kind only once, and profits so much by it that he avoids ten others. One cannot desire more."

"I should be a most unworthy subject of your majesty's, if I did not know that your majesty is profoundly conversant with every branch of science; but I am surprised to find that your majesty has bestowed so much attention on the difficult and arduous science of medicine."

"Are you surprised at that? Are you not aware that I have had and still have many more patients than you have?"

"If your majesty means your sick and wounded soldiers, neither myself nor many of my colleagues will ever come up to you in point of number."

Having sent to Dresden for Dr. Baylies, an English physician, to introduce inoculation into his dominions, on his arrival in Berlin, the king did not omit to ask his favourite question: "Well, doctor, how many have you despatched to the other world?" Baylies, who was equally warm and witty, replied, "Not so many as you, sire." Frederick, who liked to joke better than to be joked with, turned his back upon him, and never saw him from that moment. Notwithstanding the statements in the English newspapers of the time, that Baylies attended the king in his illness and enjoyed his confidence till the last moment of his life, the truth is, that never

was he again admitted to his presence, neither did he ever prescribe for him.

It has been surmised indeed, from the readiness with which Frederick could converse with every one to whom he spoke concerning his peculiar pursuits, that previously to an interview with any eminent person, he prepared himself for what he should say to him. This may indeed have been the case in some solitary instances, but the conjecture cannot apply to all: and it is admitted that "he would talk of war with the military man, of verses with the poet, of agriculture with the farmer, of jurisprudence with the lawyer, of commerce with the merchant, of politics with the Englishman. If ever he spoke to a shoemaker, a thing by no means uncommon, his conversation was sure to turn on the quality of leather and the best manner of making shoes."

But, whatever might be the extent of Frederick's medical knowledge, so much is certain that he well knew what was conducive to his own health. In his younger years he had suffered severely from neglect of diet: he recommended to others attention to that point, but he had no notion of restricting himself. His complaints demanded caution in his way of living; according to his own admission, he had always been very susceptible to cold and wet, but still he defied nature down to the latest period of his life.

After the Bavarian succession-war, the king's enjoyments were further abridged by the increasing infirmities of age, which produced a corresponding change in his habits. The loss of his front teeth and the gout in his hands compelled him to relinquish the practice of his favourite instrument, when he said with emotion to his

capellmeister, "My dear Benda, I have lost my best friend!" Thenceforward he seemed to take no interest in music generally, and very seldom attended concerts. From this time, too, as soon as he had read his letters and taken coffee in the morning, he admitted his cabinet councillors, and thus got through his official business at least two hours earlier than formerly. By giving up his concerts he certainly deprived himself of a high gratification in the later hours of the day; and for this he sought compensation in the circle of his friends and literary associates. He would also walk out alone or in company to look at his gardens, or in the halls of the palace, or his reader, as he called him, was sent for.

We have seen that le Cat for many years held this office, though he scarcely ever performed its duties. From 1779 to 1785, Duval du Peyrau, whom the king generally styles in his letters "the Doctor of the Sorbonne," was frequently summoned. The principal duty of these persons was to give an account of new books, and this led to instructive conversation, during which the king would walk up and down the saloons with the reader till perhaps six o'clock: or striking passages in new works were read; but Frederick read himself, till hoarseness obliged him to resign the book. The king never had an actual reader till two years before his death: this was Dantal, a descendant from a French refugee family, settled in Berlin. From a statement published by him of all the books which he read to the king, it appears that, till his death, Frederick preferred the Greek and Roman classics—historians, orators, and poets—and next to them the most eminent French writers. Lighter works, such as Candide, were brought forward

only in time of illness. The hours when Dantal was so engaged were regularly from six to eight in winter, and from four to six in summer; and he frequently read for three successive hours. Besides this, the king was accustomed, as he had been all his life, to read aloud to himself, chiefly poetry.

With Frederick the performance of his duties as the head and ruler of his people was a principle paramount to every other consideration; and he felt with a just pride the personal superiority which his conscientious adherence to this principle gave him over sovereigns, who were content to relinquish the exercise of their functions to unworthy hands, and to grovel themselves in the debasing pleasures of luxurious sensuality. So intimately had the habit of business become blended with his nature, that neither sickness and pain nor the increasing infirmities of age could divert him from it; and we find him till the last moments of his life fulfilling the duties which he had imposed upon himself with a perseverance which perhaps no other monarch has equalled, much less surpassed.

In 1781, his physician advised him to defer or to give up his reviewing tour. "Doctor," replied his majesty, "you follow your business and I mine. Till my last moment, I will fulfil the duties of a king." Then, turning to count Hertzberg, he recited the following parody on a passage in Voltaire's Zaïre:

"Tous ces rois qu'à genoux cet univers contemple,
Leurs usages, leurs droits, ne sont point mon exemple;
Je pourrois ainsi qu'eux, me livrant au plaisir,
Vivre tranquillement au sein d'un doux loisir,
Du trésor de l'état prodiguant des largesses,
Enrichir favoris, ministres, et maîtresses;

Du château de Potsdam dictant mes volontés,
Gouverner mes pays du sein des voluptés.
Mais je ne fus jamais l'ami de la paresse.
Malheur à tous ces rois vivant dans la molesse,
Qui, montés sur le trône, se laissent gouverner,
Sans avoir jamais sû commander ni regner!"

In 1783, Greiffenberg in Silesia, which had a considerable trade in linen, was destroyed by fire. Frederick immediately furnished considerable sums, so that the town soon rose again from its ashes. Grateful for this succour, the inhabitants in the following year availed themselves of the opportunity of paying their homage to the king, as he passed through Hirschberg. He was sitting at table with the prince of Prussia and two aides-de-camp, when he ordered the deputies of Hirschberg and Greiffenberg to be admitted. Having conversed with them for some time on the state of the linen manufacture and trade in general, Lachmann, one of the deputies of Greiffenberg, stepped forward and thus addressed him: "May it please your majesty, we, in the name of the sufferers by fire at Greiffenberg, present to your majesty our most humble thanks for the bountiful donation most graciously bestowed for rebuilding our houses. Dust as we are, our thanks indeed are unworthy of notice: but we will pray to God to reward your majesty for this royal munificence." Tears started into the eyes of the king, and he replied in these memorable words: "You have no need to thank me for this. It is my duty to relieve my subjects under the pressure of calamity: that is what I am here for."

It was from the same sense of duty to his people that Frederick practised in regard to his own person a degree of economy most unusual in a sovereign. To such an

extent, indeed, was his frugality carried during the last years of his life, that his boots and coats were completely worn out, his hats quite bare; and it was not unusual for the breeches to have holes in them, while shirts and pocket-handkerchiefs were often torn. Werder, who in 1781 was appointed minister of finance, had occasion one day to witness an exemplification of this quality that was absolutely touching. While the minister was waiting in the ante-chamber to submit to his majesty some statements respecting the finances of the kingdom, he heard the voice of Frederick, who was venting his indignation upon one of his attendants for pocketing half a bottle of wine. Werder trembled: for what sort of reception might he expect with the accounts of the whole country, if the king could be in such a passion about so small a trifle! However, there was no retreating; he was ushered in to his majesty and received with more than ordinary condescension. Frederick soon perceived that the minister betrayed unusual timidity, and inquired the reason. Werder frankly confessed what he had seen and heard. "Have I not cause to be angry," said the king, "and to storm at the knavish rascals? Why, if I was to let them do just as they pleased, I should soon not have a penny left to relieve unfortunate subjects."

Another public functionary, speculating, no doubt, on this disposition of the king to economy, received from him such a lesson as could not have been most agreeable. This was Taubenheim, privy-councillor to the tobacco administration, who transmitted to the king during the last year of his reign a plan for making considerable savings, by reducing the salaries of the officers belong-

ing to that branch of the service. "I thank you," wrote Frederick to him on the 9th of May, 1786, "for your good intentions and your economical counsel; but I find it the less applicable inasmuch as the poor people of that class have already much ado to live. Nevertheless, I will adopt your plan and the suggestions contained in it, and, applying them to yourself, deduct 1000 dollars from your salary; and a year hence you may inform me whether this diminution is beneficial or detrimental to your domestic arrangements. In the former case, I will reduce your salary, as large as it is undeserved, from 4000 dollars to one half; and, in thus gratifying your wishes, I will praise your economical and patriotic sentiments, and not fail to carry your plan into execution in regard to all others who shall desire to be included in its operation."

The loss of so many of Frederick's relatives, friends, companions, correspondents, and servants, whom the hand of death or circumstances had removed from about him, could not but be severely felt by the king in this last period of his life. So much the more welcome must have been the occasional visits of eminent foreigners, and it may be inferred from the enthusiastic admiration which these express for the aged monarch, how irresistible must have been the fascinations of his society in his earlier days.

In July, 1780, that accomplished courtier, the Prince de Ligne, paid Frederick a visit, and was received by the king with the greatest cordiality. During his stay at Potsdam, he dined every day and passed the evening with the king, and then it was, he says, that he was enchanted with the encyclopedian conversations of his

majesty. "The arts, war, medicine, literature, religion, philosophy, morality, history, and legislation, were discussed in turn — the brilliant times of Augustus and Louis XIV.; polished society among the Greeks, the Romans, and the French; the chivalry of Francis I.; the frankness and valour of Henry IV.; the revival of letters and their vicissitudes since Leo X.; anecdotes of men of talent of former days, and their foibles; the eccentricities of Voltaire; the sensitive vanity of Maupertuis; the agreeableness of Algarotti, the wit of Jordan, the hypochondriacism of the marquis d'Argens, whom he could send to his bed for twenty-four hours, by merely telling him that he looked ill, and what not besides! All that he said was uttered in a gentle tone of voice, rather low, and very pleasing, from his manner of moving his lips, which possessed an inexpressible grace. This, I imagine, was what prevented his hearers from perceiving that, like Homer's heroes, he was a great talker; but every one was delighted that he did not talk less."

In the sketches of conversations recorded by the prince de Ligne, he gives the following anecdotes.

"The king mentioned Virgil. I took occasion, by way of saying something, to observe:—'He was a great poet, sire, but a bad gardener.'—'You need not tell me that,' replied the king. 'Have I not tried to plant, to sow, to prepare the ground, to dig, with the Georgics in my hand? But, sir, said my gardener to me, you are a fool, and your book is foolish too: that is not the way to go to work. But, good heavens! what a climate is this! do you know, nothing will grow in it! Look at my poor orange-trees, my olives, my lemon-trees; all of

them are dying from the cold.' — 'It seems, then, sire, that nothing grows with you but laurels.' The king gave me a charming smile, when, to correct the insipidity of a compliment by the pungency of a folly, I quickly added: — 'And then, sire, there are too many grenadiers in this country; they devour every thing!' The king laughed."

"One day at dinner, I turned up my plate to see what kind of porcelain it was:—'What do you take it to be?' —'I should have said Dresden, but, instead of two swords I see but one, which is well worth the two.'— 'It is a sceptre.'—'Sire, I beg pardon, but your sceptre is so like a sword, that one may easily mistake it for one.'" It should be observed that the mark of the Berlin porcelain is a sceptre, that of the Dresden two swords crossed. The prince adds that the king did not seem much pleased with his keen remark.

"'Do you know,' said the king to me one day, 'that I have been in your service? I made my first campaigns for the house of Austria. My God, how the time passes!' In thus saying 'My God!' he had a particular way of clasping his hands, which gave him altogether a look of benevolence and extreme gentleness: —'Do you know,' he continued, 'that I saw the last rays of the brilliant genius of prince Eugene?'—'It was, perhaps, by those rays that your majesty's genius was first kindled.'—'Ah, my God! who could hope to equal prince Eugene?' — 'He who is superior to him,' said I, 'and who is capable of winning a dozen victories.' He put on his modest look: — it is, as I have always said, easy to be modest when one can afford to be so. He pretended not to understand me, and thus proceeded:

— 'When the cabal, which for forty years prince Eugene had to contend with, even in his own army, wished to injure him, they chose the time to do it when his mind, strong in the morning, was somewhat enfeebled by the fatigues of the day. It was thus that they prevailed upon him to undertake his injudicious march upon Mayence.' — 'As far as you, sire, are yourself concerned,' said I to him, 'you tell me nothing but what I already knew. I know all that your majesty did, and even what you said. I can relate your journeys to Strasburg and Holland, and your adventure in a boat. In talking of this campaign on the Rhine, one of our old generals, whom I often consult, as one refers to an old chronicle, told me that he was much surprised to hear a young Prussian officer whom he did not know say to a general of the late king's, who was giving a verbal order against foraging: — 'And I, sir, order you to go; our cavalry is in want: and, in short, sir, I command it.' — 'You see me in too favourable a light,' rejoined the king. 'Ask these gentlemen about my humours and caprices. They will tell you a very different story.'"

The prince thus concludes his account of this visit: — "Want of memory, as well as want of opportunity for seeing oftener and longer at a time the greatest man that ever lived, obliges me to close. There is not a single word in what I have related, but proceeded from his lips. Those who knew him will perceive his manner in every sentence: that is just what I wished to convey, in order to give those who have never had the good luck to see him a correct idea of the man. His eyes, represented in his portraits as very harsh, with the brows knit, from the labours of the cabinet and the fatigues

of war, became soft while listening to, or while he related, any trait of elevation or sensibility."

The marquis de Bouillé, who, during the whole of the American war, had been commander-in-chief in the French West India islands, and had returned to his native country in 1783, repaired in the following year to Potsdam to see the greatest warrior of the age. "The great Frederick," he tells us in his Memoirs, "received the young French lieutenant-general most graciously," and he availed himself of the king's invitation to return in the course of 1785.—"Frederick," he says, "was the most extraordinary sight that was to be seen in Prussia, not excepting the imposing spectacle presented by his army, in which this great man had carried military science and discipline to a point heretofore unknown. In the warrior who had astonished Europe by his exploits, I beheld only a prince intent on the welfare of his subjects, anxious to maintain the superiority of his army, to preserve peace and tranquillity in his dominions and in Europe, and to establish it for the future on the most solid bases.

"Received by Frederick better than I could have hoped, I was allowed to approach him, and to catch a glimpse of his mind in moments when the hero of his age threw off his greatness and majesty, and appeared as a man not less illustrious by the light of his genius and the strength of his character, than by his exalted rank and the brilliance of his glory.

"The essential virtues of this prince were accompanied by the most amiable qualities. Not a man in the first circles of Europe could display more refinement, more affability, and more fascinating manners. Very

few philosophers and scholars possessed a more cultivated mind, more extensive knowledge. His attractive conversation was seasoned with lively, witty, piquant sallies; and its charm was heightened by benignity, forbearance, and freedom. Every one could speak out without restraint, and whoever passed a few hours in Frederick's society felt his mind enlarged, his intellectual faculties more developed — he felt, as it were, electrified."

Another equally distinguished French nobleman, the count de Segur, who had served under Washington in America, and who visited the king, in 1785, on his way to Petersburg, as ambassador, sketches his person in this last year but one of his life with the like feeling of admiration.

"I contemplated this man with extraordinary curiosity. Vast in genius, I beheld him small in stature, and bent, as if under the weight of his glory and his long toils. His blue coat, worn out like his body, his long boots coming up above the knees, and his waistcoat covered with snuff, formed a singular but yet imposing tout-ensemble. The fire of his eye indicated that his mind had not grown old. For though he carried himself like an invalid, still there was something about him which told you that he could fight like a young soldier. Notwithstanding his low stature, he appeared to the imagination of one who approached him greater than other living men."

The same year, 1785, brought two other eminent military officers who had fought in America, lord Cornwallis and the marquis de la Fayette, to witness the grand manœuvres of the Prussian army, and to make the per-

sonal acquaintance of the great king. The duke of York, of whom Frederick afterwards said to Zimmermann, "I love him as dearly as a father can love his own child," came also at the same time for his improvement in military science; and, lastly, count Mirabeau arrived in January, 1786, to catch the expiring rays of the setting sun.

CHAPTER LII.

Dissatisfaction of the King with the Silesian Army—Commencement of his last Illness—His Kindness to his Attendants—His unremitted Attention to public business—Progress of his Disorder—He sends for Dr. Zimmermann—His disregard of Diet—Farewell Interview with Prince Dolgoruki—Symptoms of confirmed Dropsy appear—Associates of the King's last Days—Hertzberg's Account of his habitual Occupations—His incessant Study of the Public Welfare—Activity of his Mind to the last—His Death—Funeral Ceremonies—Niemeyer's Funeral Sermon—The King's Will—Singular Inventory of his Personal Effects—Treasure left by him—Portraits of the King—Unworthy Fate of his Works—Concluding Remarks on his Character as a Sovereign.

At the beginning of the year 1785, the health of the old king had become extremely variable. In the spring he had a slight attack of gout. In June he went to Eger, in Bohemia, but the waters failed to afford the same benefit as formerly. He nevertheless made his usual reviewing tour to Berlin, Magdeburg, Cüstrin, Stargard, to West Prussia, and lastly to Silesia. He had not been satisfied with the manœuvres of the preceding year in that province; though the marquis de Bouillé, who had previously been at the emperor Joseph's camp near Prague, attended the Prussian manœuvres in Silesia, in 1784, and says in his Memoirs: "I will not make any comparison between the armies of these monarchs: the military discipline was so perfect in both, that the superiority must depend on the general who commands them." We may infer, from this testimony of an impartial witness, that the state of the Prussian troops was not such as to afford ground for much complaint.

The king, in fact, was out of conceit with old Tauentzien, inspector-general of all the infantry in Silesia, but

was unwilling to dismiss him unless upon his own solicitation. He therefore wrote to him, on the 7th of September, in terms of the severest reprehension. "While I was in Silesia," he says, "I mentioned to you, and I now repeat it in writing, that my army in Silesia was never in so bad a state as at present: if I were to make generals of shoemakers and tailors, the regiments could not be worse." Having animadverted on the regiments individually, and some blunders committed in the late manœuvres, he proceeds: "I am not disposed to lose battles through the *lâcheté* of my generals; therefore, I desire that a year hence, if I should be living, you assemble the army between Breslau and Ohlau, and, for four days before I come to the camp, manœuvre with the ignorant generals, and instruct them in their duty, and then whoever does not perform it shall be brought to a court-martial: for I should find fault with any power that kept in its service people who care so little about their profession." In consequence of this letter, the brave defender of Breslau solicited his dismission from the inspection, which the king divided between generals count Anhalt and Götzen; while Tauentzien, as commander of his own regiment, became subordinate to officers who were much his juniors.

Notwithstanding the precarious state of his health, in the summer of 1785, Frederick, who never spared himself when duty summoned, set out on the 16th of August for Silesia. The reviews this year were rendered more than usually brilliant by the presence of many princes and generals from France, England, and Germany. The whole Silesian army, upwards of 50,000 strong, was assembled in a spacious camp near Strehlen. The king

exerted himself prodigiously, and, on the 24th of August, the last day but one of the reviews, he exposed himself on horseback to a cold and heavy rain for six successive hours without cloak. When the review was over, he put on dry clothes, and entertained at dinner some of the distinguished foreigners whom the celebrity of these military spectacles had attracted — the duke of York, duke Constantine of Saxe-Weimar, and two generals who had recently been opposed to each other in the New World, lord Cornwallis and the marquis de la Fayette; but the cold and wet had taken such an effect upon him as to induce in the course of the afternoon a violent fever. His strong constitution and happy temperament, which had often done wonders, assisted him on the present occasion. Doubtful himself whether he should be able to direct the manœuvres of the following day, he retired to bed betimes, fell into a profound sleep, perspired copiously, found himself relieved in the morning, mounted his horse, and not only brought the reviews to a conclusion, but continued his tour through Neisse to Brieg.

Between the Silesian reviews and the manœuvres at Potsdam, he was in tolerable health. These autumn manœuvres promised to be this year very brilliant. Lafayette had come back from Silesia to be present, and they were attended by the dukes of York, Brunswick, and Courland: the king, however, could do no more than hold the artillery exercises on the 10th of September, near Berlin—his last appearance in the capital. On the 18th, three days before the grand autumn manœuvres, he complained of pain in his legs: on retiring to bed at eight in the evening, he made the same complaint, though he had been in high spirits the whole day, especially

at table. At ten, he had a violent attack of apoplexy, which must have proved fatal but for the prompt application of heat and the administration of emetics and hot tea. About midnight, the symptoms were so far conquered, that the king, who had been obliged to rise lest he should be choked, could lie down again. He then fell into a sound and quiet sleep. Next morning, he had a fit of the gout, owing to which he could not attend the manœuvres in person. Though his strength was greatly reduced by these attacks, he was led at his desire into the dining-room on the three manœuvre days, and, in presence of the foreign princes and generals, gave the parole and dispositions to his officers.

Though the illustrious patient got the better of the gout in a few weeks, he continued to be very ailing, and from this time had a troublesome cough, attended with little expectoration, and such difficulty of breathing, that he was frequently obliged to rise from his bed in the night. The natural consequence of disturbed rest at night was frequent and involuntary sleep in the day-time. Symptoms of dropsy gradually supervened, while the organs of digestion became weaker and weaker.

During this his last illness, the king was particularly kind and considerate towards his attendants. Awaking one night, he called to his servant in waiting in the ante-room, and asked what o'clock it was. He replied that it had struck two. "'Tis yet very early," said the king, "but I cannot sleep. See if any of my people are stirring; but don't wake them, for they are tired. If thou findest any of them awake, just say, I believe the king means to get up soon. But be sure don't wake any body."

The king had many such restless nights, in which he would frequently enter into conversation with the servant whose turn it was to stay up with him. In one of these nights, he again inquired what hour it was, and was told twelve. "Ah!" said the king, "I cannot sleep; tell me some story or other." His attendant for the night, an honest young Pomeranian, could not bethink him of any thing to entertain the king, who therefore furnished him with a subject by his questions, which led to the following dialogue:

"Where dost thou come from?"

"From a village in Further Pomerania."

"Are thy parents living?"

"I have a mother, but she is getting old."

"How does she support herself?"

"By spinning."

"How much does she earn a-day?"

"Six *dreiers*"—[six pieces of three pfennings, equivalent to 2½d. English money].

"She cannot live over and above well upon that."

"Why, living is cheap in Pomerania."

"Hast thou never sent her any thing yet?"

"O yes, I have several times sent her a few dollars."

"That is right! Thou art a good lad. Thou hast a great deal of trouble with me too; but have patience. I will put by something for thee if thou behavest well."

A few days afterwards, the young Pomeranian was again on duty. The king called him and said: "Go to that window; thou wilt there find something that I have been collecting for thee." Several pieces of gold were lying scattered about, and the young man was doubtful

whether he was to take them all. He therefore picked up some of them, and, holding them in his open hand, said: "Your majesty meant only these, I suppose."—"No," replied the king; "they are all for thee, and I have sent something to thy mother." On making inquiry of the cabinet-councillor concerning the latter point, the honest attendant learned to his joy and astonishment that the king had settled upon his mother an annuity for life of 100 dollars.

One night, when the king could not sleep, the chamber-hussar, who was his attendant for that night, shaking his head, observed in a tone of sympathy and concern: "Indeed I do not think that your majesty's physicians are in the right way."—"How so?" asked the king. "I have been a surgeon myself, and I believe that a few hours' sleep would do your majesty more good than all their physic. That is what you want."—"Thou art right enough—that I feel myself; but how is the thing to be done?"—"If your majesty would consent to take a medicine that I could give you, I will be answerable that it will promote not only sleep but appetite also." Dost thou really think so?"—"I know from experience that it has done good service. I would give my life that I could relieve your majesty," he added, while the tears started into his eyes. "Well, I will take thy medicine at night. I will see if thou hast told the truth."—Accordingly, the medicine was brought and taken, and the king had a sound sleep of six hours. He awoke much refreshed, and said to his attendant: "Well, that is what I call a regular sleep!" He then filled a snuff-box with ducats. "Here," said he, "is

something for thy sympathy and for the good effect of thy medicine. I ought to make thee my physician, but I should have to consult my doctors first."

But, though approaching the end of his earthly career, Frederick paid the same attention to the duties of government as in the days of his best health. The German confederation, the treaty with North America, and other political measures, attest the energy with which he conducted the foreign relations of his country. To the affairs of the interior he devoted himself during the last seven months of his life with the same zeal as at the moment of his accession. All the plans for the benefit of the country, projected or in progress, were prosecuted and completed. Three millions of dollars were destined for these purposes. The paternal monarch went still further, as he always did on extraordinary occasions. Great inundations of the Vistula, the Warthe, and the Oder, had done extensive mischief. Frederick ordered the dykes to be repaired, and allotted half a million of dollars to alleviate the losses of the poor country-people. In 1785, and indeed in the following year also, the crops in the northern provinces were very deficient: the king took such prompt measures that the price of corn in his dominions did not rise too high, and that a considerable quantity of grain could be exported from Memel, Königsberg, Elbing, and Danzig, to Sweden and Denmark.

Notwithstanding his painful and hopeless condition, he withdrew not for a moment from the duties of his high station. He read all the despatches of his foreign ministers, dictated answers to them every morning from four till seven, and kept up the ordinary correspondence

with his cabinet-ministry on all matters of general policy. He maintained the same daily correspondence with the departments of justice and finance; and he himself, without either minister or general, conducted the whole of the military correspondence, dictating orders, classic for spirit and manner, to his cabinet-councillors and aides-de-camp, and at the same time taking the petty distress of some humble unknown individual in the remotest corner of his kingdom as much to heart as the honour of his crown.

The winter passed away in great pain. Dr. Selle, whom the king had first consulted in January, 1785, prescribed Glauber salt and rhubarb, which the king took the more willingly as he had experienced the beneficial effects of those medicines, and was aware that his complaints originated chiefly in obstruction and weakness of the intestines. Syrup of squills was recommended with benefit for the cough and to promote expectoration. In the middle of January, an issue was made in one thigh, which somewhat relieved the chest, and enabled the patient to sleep better.

In the beginning of February, the weakness increased, the sleep was not rarely stupifying, and the king was out of breath, if he moved a few hundred paces. Selle directed an issue to be made in the other thigh, and by attention to the state of the bowels the king was enabled to pass nearly the whole of this month in a state of comparative ease.

A change for the worse soon took place. On rising in the morning, a violent palpitation of the heart was perceived. The king was now obliged by want of breath to give up his walks in the room. A movement of

twenty or thirty steps occasioned giddiness, and increased the oppression of the chest to such a degree that he was forced to sit down again. The pulse, which had usually been full, strong, and even, became during the attacks of asthma quick, spasmodic, and irregular. The patient slept much, and more in the day-time in his chair than at night in bed, though his sleep was composed and he always awoke perfectly collected. To his other ailments were added the first symptoms of an incurable complaint in his eyes; and it became evident that medical skill could aim at nothing more than to preserve his valuable life as long as possible, or, as Frederick expressed it, to protract his illness. His sufferings continued to increase. The cough deprived him of rest the greater part of the night, and the increasing weakness destroyed all hope that a regular attack of gout might come to his relief. As the king could not lie down, but sat almost always leaning forward, the fear of dropsy of the chest was but too well founded. But Selle lost all heart, when, about the end of March, a second issue was made in the left leg, and produced in a few days so violent an inflammation that it could not be healed fast enough.

At the beginning of April, the dry cough was so incessant, and the breath so short, that apprehensions of suffocation were again entertained. Neither internal medicines nor a blister between the shoulders produced the desired effect. The gradually-increasing weakness left no hope of amendment; the king himself placed all his reliance on the change of the season, and the enjoyment of the mild spring air; and as there was many a warm day in that month, he rejoiced that Nature lent

a hand, as it were, to his recovery. He had a chair placed for him at the green steps, as they are called, at the south portico of the palace, where he sometimes sat a long while in the afternoon, refreshing himself in the genial air. One day, he remarked that the two grenadiers on duty there were standing with grounded arms, motionless as statues, on account of his presence. He beckoned one of them to him, and said in a kind tone: "Walk up and down as if I was not here. You cannot stand on one spot so long as I can sit."

As the weather seemed to be settled, he resolved to leave the town, and to remove to his beloved country residence. At six in the morning of the 17th of April, he got into his carriage, and was driven by a circuitous route to Sans-Souci. This trip, the news of which greatly alarmed his physician, seemed to have done the king no harm.

During his painful bodily sufferings, Frederick's paternal labours for the benefit of his country were prosecuted, as I have said, without interruption; and, observes Preuss, "one cannot sufficiently admire this incomparable man, when one surveys the written monuments of his industry as a sovereign accumulated in this time of trial, and finds the unweakened spirit, the undiminished attention to business, fresh and active even on the brink of the grave. He retained at the same time his former serenity of mind; he delighted in social intercourse with faithful friends, and in the pursuits of science, and we see him who is soon to pass as a great and glorious historical personage into the realm of spirits, edifying and amusing himself with the heroes of past ages."

The king was not able to attend the last review on the 17th and 18th of May, but he did hope to be present at that in Silesia. He tried several times to take a ride; these attempts served, however, to convince him of his extreme debility. He contrived, indeed, to reach the New Palace, to inspect the vineyard planted there in the preceding year; and he was once close to the Brandenburg gate, and would have entered the town, with the intention of giving the parole himself, when the dust from the dry weather and the many houses that were building forced him to turn back.

Thus far the king's physicians, Cothenius, Frese, Theden, and particularly Selle, had summoned all the powers of their art to afford the king some alleviation of his hopeless condition. Selle considered the disorder as incurable, death near at hand, and the further employment of medicine as useless or pernicious; and, though he strove to conceal this opinion from the illustrious sufferer, Frederick's penetration discovered his inmost thoughts. For this reason, probably, the king refused to see him after the 5th of June; and, in two very flattering letters of the 6th and 16th, he solicited the assistance of Dr. Zimmermann, physician to the court of Hanover, till whose arrival he was actually for nearly three weeks without any medical attendant whatever.

Zimmermann, a Swiss by birth, had a French mother. He possessed in the highest degree the gift of rendering himself agreeable to the great by his pleasing manners and sprightly conversation. During his visit to Berlin, in 1771, Frederick had spoken to him concerning his health, without regularly consulting him, and had taken a liking to the doctor. His celebrated name, the strong

recommendation which he brought with him from the king's sister, the dowager duchess of Brunswick, and the confidence of his manner, excited fresh hopes. He arrived at Potsdam on the 23rd of June, between which day and the 10th of July he saw the king thirty-three times. He, too, found the principal source of the disease in obstruction of the bowels, and advised the king to take the juice of dandelion boiled down to the consistence of honey, which Frederick did actually use for some time, but without adapting his table to the medicines prescribed for him or to his situation. It is a fair question whether a physician, who was not a subject of his patient's, ought not to have made a strict observance of diet the first condition of his attendance. Zimmermann, however, made no attempt to control the king's appetite. He had indeed questioned Schöning, Frederick's valet, concerning his way of living, and been told: "The most indigestible things are his favourite dishes. Whenever a physician has persuaded him to take medicine, he has not on that account set bounds to his intemperance in eating. If, after taking medicine, vomiting or any thing of that kind ensued, he would say that this was the effect of the confounded physic." All this Zimmermann was aware of, and yet he ventured upon the arduous undertaking, without the slightest prospect of success. But at the very commencement of his attempt he perceived with alarm the consequences of Frederick's immoderate indulgence. In his narrative of his interviews with his royal patient, he relates: "To-day [June 30] the king had taken a great quantity of soup, made as usual of the strongest gravy drawn from the most heating things. With his portion he mixed a large table-spoonful of

pounded mace and ground ginger. He then ate a large slice of beef stewed in brandy. This he followed up with a copious allowance of an Italian dish, composed half of maize-flour and half of Parmesan cheese; to this is added the juice of garlic, and the whole is fried in butter till it acquires a crust as thick as one's finger. This favourite dish is called polenta. At length," continues Zimmermann, "the king, praising the excellent appetite which the dandelion had given him, concluded the scene with a large plate of eel-pie, so hot and highly seasoned that it seemed to have been baked in hell: while at table, the king fell asleep, and was seized with convulsions." "At another time," says the doctor, "the king again ate a quantity of cooling and flatulent fruits, especially melons, and all sorts of sweetmeats." In this manner, he adds, Frederick would have rendered the aid of medicine nugatory and fruitless, even if it had been possible to afford him relief. His cooks, as Zimmermann says he frankly told him, were his worst enemies.

Frederick was deeply affected by the departure of prince Dolgoruki, the Russian ambassador, who, after residing twenty-three years in Berlin, called to take leave of him on the 26th of June. The king rose from his chair, and grasped the hand of the prince. "My dear prince Dolgoruki," said he, "I am very sorry that your empress has recalled you, and it grieves me that we must part. Fare you well! make my salutations to your sovereign, and assure her of my entire esteem: and, as for yourself, my dearest prince, be persuaded that while I live my heart will be attached to you, and I shall never forget you." The aged prince was so moved by the affectionate language and manner of the king, that he was

unable to reply for tears, and made a silent obeisance. Count Romanzow, Dolgoruki's successor, who was present on this occasion, declared that he had never witnessed a more touching scene in the apartment of any sovereign.

The king rode out for the last time on the 4th of July. About eleven o'clock, he was assisted to mount his horse, which he did with great difficulty. For three quarters of an hour he rode about the great garden of Sans-Souci, mostly at a gallop, and returned extremely faint and fatigued. At dinner he had no appetite, and was seized immediately afterwards with vomiting. When Zimmermann came to see him, the king was so oppressed that he could not talk. "Forgive me, sir," said he, "I really cannot speak;" and sent him away.

During Zimmermann's stay at Potsdam, the most unequivocal symptoms of dropsy manifested themselves in his royal patient, and, aware of the utter hopelessness of the case, his physician returned to Hanover. At his departure, Frederick again sent for Selle, who, as the king insisted on being made acquainted with his precise situation, did not attempt to conceal the danger to be apprehended from dropsy, but represented the issue as less imminent than he himself believed it to be.

Nothing could disturb the equanimity of the great king. Hertzberg, the minister, whom Frederick summoned to Sans-Souci on the 9th of July, and who continued there till his death, says that he and the usual associates of the king, marquis Lucchesini, and counts Görtz, Schwerin, and Pinto, who spent three or four hours daily with him, can attest that, though so swollen as not to be able to stir without assistance from his

chair, in which he passed days and nights, because his disorder forbade the conveniences of a bed, and though evidently suffering most acutely, yet he never betrayed the least sign of pain or uneasiness, but retained his usual calm, composed, cheerful look, without ever adverting to his state or to death, but conversing with his companions in the most agreeable and familiar manner on passing circumstances, literature, ancient and modern history, and particularly on agriculture, horticulture, and the gardens which he was then laying out.

During his illness, the king never had any medical man to sit up with him; two lacqueys only were in attendance in his room during the night. The routine of the day was uniformly as follows: having perused overnight the despatches of his ambassadors and the reports of his generals and ministers, about four or five in the morning, according to the quantity of business, he admitted his three cabinet-councillors in succession, and dictated to one of them the answers to each of his ambassadors, and, to the two others, his orders and replies to his generals and ministers, on military, financial, and juridical matters, also answers to numberless letters and petitions from private persons; and all this, as Herzberg says, with such precision and order, that the cabinet-councillors had nothing to add but the titles, formalities, and dates. When this business was got through, about seven or eight o'clock, general Rohdich, commandant of Potsdam, was admitted, and then his aides-de-camp, to whom he gave verbally military orders and directions what the garrison was to do each day. Having thus performed his duties as sovereign, he saw his surgeon, and sometimes a physician, for a few minutes, to

consult them as to what was best to be done for his situation.

About eleven, he sent for his five associates, and conversed with them till the clock struck twelve, when they were dismissed, and he took his dinner alone. To this meal, as to every thing else, he devoted the same attention as usual till his end, so that down to the 8th of August he corrected the bill of fare, and bestowed on it during dinner expressions of approbation.

In the afternoon, he signed all the despatches and letters which he had dictated in the morning, and which his cabinet-councillors were expected to have ready by a particular hour. Sometimes he sat upon his terrace in the sun; and one day, cheered by the genial influence of his rays, he exclaimed: "I shall soon be nearer to thee!" manifestly intimating his belief that one or other of those glorious orbs which roll above our heads may be destined for the abode of the human soul when released from the shackles of mortality. About five o'clock, he again sent for his companions and kept them with him till eight, when he dismissed them to supper. During the rest of the evening, he had Dantal, his reader, to read to him out of Cicero, Plutarch, and other classics of ancient and modern times; then perused the despatches received in the course of the day, and took the little sleep which his state permitted. Sunday the 30th of July was the last time that Dantal was called upon to perform the duties of his office, and the last books which the king himself read were Voltaire's Siècle de Louis XV. and Laharpe's translation of Suetonius.

It was not till the last weeks of his life that the king desired the attendance of his cabinet-councillors at four

in the morning, instead of their coming at six or seven as before. In acquainting them with this alteration, he used these ever-memorable words: "My condition obliges me to put you to this inconvenience, but you will not be subject to it long. My life is drawing to a close: I must make the best use of the time that I have left. It belongs not to me but to the State."

Thus we see Frederick assiduously and cheerfully fulfilling the duties of his station, though already struggling with his last invincible foe. Still he was not heard to make any allusion to death but once. When count Schwerin, one of the five, whom, as we have seen, he had selected for his habitual companions, repeatedly solicited permission to go to Brunswick, he at last said: "Well, go then; but you will not find me alive when you come back."

The king's absence from the reviews and the suspension of his periodical journeys furnished the first and only intimation of his helpless condition to the public in general. He appointed colonels Hanstein and Prittwitz to hold all the special reviews throughout the kingdom, and about eight days before his death he dictated the dispositions for the manœuvres to be then executed with such precision and particularity that all the hills, ditches, and bridges, which were to be occupied or attacked, were specified by name. In the afternoon of the 13th of August, when the two officers abovementioned called to take leave of the king, he conversed with them in the greatest detail concerning the commissions which he had given them, made mention of several officers, even subalterns, by name; and, on parting from Prittwitz, desired him in passing through

Landeshut to contrive to see the principal tradesmen in that town, and to assure them of the remembrance and the best wishes of their sovereign.

Nay, his provident mind was looking beyond the present moment and forming plans for the ensuing year. He sent for general Anhalt, to give him instructions about raising three regiments of light infantry, about the arrangements requisite for enabling the army to take the field, in case of war, and other matters of that kind. He sent for barons Hoym and Werder, ministers of state, and privy-councillor Schütz from Pomerania, to discuss with them the plans for the cultivation of waste lands and for establishing manufactures, that were to be carried into effect in the different provinces in 1787: and, in all these, particular regard was had to the favourite system of founding new villages, draining marshes, and augmenting the population of thinly-inhabited districts. What afforded him particular gratification was the execution of a scheme of his for bringing three hundred sheep from Spain for the improvement of the native breed. It was only a few days before his death that these sheep were to pass through Potsdam; he was impatient for their coming, that, to use his own expression, "he might have some of them over to Sans-Souci to see him." Such were the occupations which formed a sort of counterpoise to the pains of his disorder.

During the last months of his life, the king found himself so much refreshed by the fruit which he took that he conceived the idea of having seven additional walls built in the vicinity of the new palace, and planting the best sorts of peaches, plums, and cherries, against them. To this end he sent for Eckstein, his gardener,

to consult him on the subject of the countries from which the trees should be procured. When the gardener entered the room of the royal patient, the latter had made out a long list of trees, with the names of the places from which he proposed to order them. He desired this list to be read over to Eckstein, and then asked him what he thought of it. The gardener raised all sorts of objections against the king's choice, on which Frederick desired him to use his own judgment, and to get the business done as speedily as possible.

On the 4th of August, an inflammation resembling erysipelas suddenly appeared on the shin of the left leg, and soon spread over the whole calf, the skin rising in blisters, from which there was a considerable discharge. On account of the violence of the inflammation and the danger of mortification, antiseptic fomentations were constantly applied. In this manner the king lost daily more than a quart of fluid: and though this matter was intolerably fetid, and the strength of the patient visibly declined, still, as his appetite was good and he slept well, and ceased to be annoyed by spasms, he was content with his state, and seemed to entertain some hope of amendment, especially as the swelling of the abdomen and other parts perceptibly decreased, and there appeared to be no danger of mortification. He ate with extraordinary appetite, and his physician trembled for the consequences.

Meanwhile, the king's attention to business was unremitted. On the 10th of August, he addressed to his sister the dowager duchess of Brunswick a letter in French, of which the following is a faithful translation: "My adorable sister, the Hanoverian physician wished

to give you a high opinion of his abilities, my good sister; but the truth is that he was of no use to me. The aged must make room for the young, that every generation may find its place; and if we duly consider what life is, it is nothing more than that we see our fellow-citizens die and be born. However, I have been rather easier for some days past. My heart remains inviolably attached to you, my good sister. With the highest consideration, my adorable sister, your faithful brother and servant."

On the 11th and 13th, we find him writing to his librarians in Berlin respecting the works with which Pitra, the bookseller, was to supply the royal library in the course of the current year, desiring them to send him soon a list of the books ordered, as he wished to see what they were, and to let him know what they would amount to, that he might assign the money to pay for them.

In the night of the 12th were observed symptoms of fever and unquiet sleep. During the succeeding day, the king was in rather low spirits. The fever abated in the afternoon, but returned at night. He was much in the same state on the following day. On the 15th, he dozed, contrary to his custom, till nearly eleven o'clock; and then he transacted his cabinet business, with a faint voice it is true, but with the same presence of mind and the same regularity as ever. On the same day too he dictated despatches so pertinent both in conception and expression that they would have done honour to the most experienced statesman, and communicated to general Rohdich the disposition for the manœuvres of the garrison of Potsdam on the following day, with the most

accurate reference to localities. Half a crab was the only food that he took.

His physician knew not whether to attribute this state to an ordinary indigestion, or to consider it as the last glimmer of the expiring taper, especially as the king, when somewhat relieved, was again cheerful, and towards evening signed cabinet orders and letters; but afterwards he appeared scarcely conscious, and fell into a long and profound doze.

In the private archives in Berlin is still preserved the king's despatch to Hüttel, his chargé d'affaires in Petersburg, as well as the cabinet order with which he sent a copy of it to count Finkenstein, the minister, executed on the 15th of August by the dying monarch with his own hand.

Early in the morning of the 16th, the king was seized with a violent rattling, and appeared as if he could not live a moment; but he rallied a little again when the cabinet-councillors were announced. He made his attendants understand that they should be desired to wait till he ordered them to be called in. At length all consciousness seemed to cease; his speech failed, and every thing indicated the near approach of dissolution. The cabinet-councillors were not summoned. Rohdich entered with a heavy heart. It was evident that the patient was striving to muster his strength for the performance of part of his favourite duties. He exerted himself to raise his head from the corner of the chair, to open his dim eye wider, and to set the organ of speech in motion: all his efforts were vain. He intimated by a complaining look in turning his head that the attempt was impracticable. Tears glistened in Rohdich's eyes, and he retired in silence.

At the summons of the prince of Prussia, Selle hastened from Berlin to Sans-Souci, and about three in the afternoon found that the illustrious patient had recovered some degree of consciousness, so that he recognized those about him; but he did not recollect that for the first time during his whole reign he had not despatched his cabinet business — the strongest evidence of his hopeless state. The colour of the face was more red than pale, and the eyes had not yet lost their wonted animation. He had still strength to walk a few steps from his chair, and back.

About seven, when the fever abated, he fell into a gentle slumber and warm perspiration in his chair, which for some months he had not quitted day or night. It was not long before he complained of being chilly, and repeatedly desired to be covered with pillows. Engel, surgeon of the first battalion of the life-guard, found that his legs were already cold, nearly up to the knee; but again the king rallied, and pointed with his finger to his mouth. Those about him immediately concluded that he meant to ask for his usual cordial — aniseed. He took the glass himself, laying hold of it with both his trembling hands. When Engel had retired into the next room by a door behind the king, he asked, in broken words, what the surgeon thought of his legs. He was told that Engel had said they were much as usual. Frederick shook his head, and uttered a few inarticulate words.

It is to be presumed that the imminent danger of the king's situation was concealed from all but those about his person; for I find that, on this the last evening of his life, the queen held a court and gave a supper at Schönhausen.

About nine o'clock, an incessant short cough, with considerable rattling in the chest, took place, and gradually rendered respiration more and more difficult. When the watch over his head indicated eleven by a loud stroke, the king asked, quite intelligibly, "What o'clock is it?"—"Just eleven," was the reply. "I shall get up at four," he rejoined, took a spoonful of syrup of squills, which somewhat relieved the cough and caused expectoration. Strützki, his chamber-lacquey, seeing that, on the return of the cough, the king's breath grew shorter and shorter, for which reason he was obliged every two minutes to raise himself in his chair, in a corner of which he sat much bent forward, he conceived the idea of supporting his back with his left hand and holding him by the right, under his right arm, and thus to procure him ease by keeping his body more upright. The king seemed pleased with this attention; but, in order to be able to keep it up for any length of time, Strützki was obliged to fall upon his right knee, because the king sat very low. In this posture he remained for about three hours. The nearer the catastrophe approached, the more the rattling increased and the cough abated.

About midnight the king perceived that his dog had got down from the chair on which he used to sleep, and desired that the animal might be lifted upon it and covered with pillows.

At one in the morning of Thursday, the 17th, Selle found the pulse tremulous and somewhat retrogressive. The features now began to change more and more, the eye grew dimmer and more glazed. Life was visibly ebbing. As the last moment approached, the body be-

came more quiet, the breath weaker, the rattling less violent, till at length, at twenty minutes past two, respiration totally ceased. Not till then did Strützki loose the body of his master from his grasp and close his eyes.

Besides Strützki, the only servants in attendance on the king, in the room where he expired, were his valets, Schöning and Neumann. Selle entered after the king was insensible: the ministers, Hertzberg, Görtz, and Schwerin (the latter of whom had just returned from Brunswick, and, as the king predicted, not seen him again alive), were in contiguous apartments, and royal attendants of all denominations in the ante-rooms. It was universally reported and believed that the beautiful watch, with the portrait of Titus and the inscription, "Diem perdidi," stood still at the moment when the king ceased to breathe, but this story is pronounced by Preuss to be wholly unfounded.

For eleven months the king had struggled, with rare interruptions, against death: few patients, in similar circumstances, could have held out so long. But the physical constitution of this wonderful man was not less extraordinary than his moral, or the simple dignity with which he resigned this mortal existence. He needed no propitiatory prayers, no priestly intercessions, no exercises of penance, to appease the wrath of an all-righteous Judge. His work was accomplished; he had done good in his generation, and he quitted the world lonely, calmly, free from cares, free from stings of conscience, though sensible till a few minutes before his death.

When, to use Frederick's own expression, "his spirit had left its worn-out case," Hertzberg hastened with the

intelligence to his nephew and successor, Frederick William II., who despatched count Görtz to acquaint the widowed queen at Schönhausen and the rest of the royal family in Berlin with the event.

Frederick had always been particularly modest in regard to his person, and frequently expressed an aversion to the practice of opening and embalming corpses. For this reason, Engel, the regimental surgeon, and three surgeons of companies in the first battalion of the life-guard, were directed to wash the corpse, to rub it with spirit, and to dress it. But, in order to prevent too rapid decomposition from the sultry heat of the weather, the water was drawn off in some degree from the abdomen by means of a trochar. They extracted between three and four quarts of a fetid fluid, of very thick consistence, and of a greenish yellow colour. Incisions in the legs also relieved the body from a considerable quantity of water. In the performance of these duties, the operators had occasion to convince themselves of the utter falsehood of a scandalous statement of Zimmermann's, respecting a mutilation which, according to him, the king had undergone. His assertion was formally and publicly contradicted by Engel and his assistants.

Eckstein, the sculptor, took a cast of the face in plaster. The body was then dressed in the uniform of the first battalion of the guard, and laid upon a camp-bedstead, covered with a black pall. The officers of the garrison who came to Sans-Souci about eleven, for the parole, were permitted to enter the apartment. Painfully affecting was the grief expressed by these warriors, who wept like children around the corpse of a parent, and among whom were the sons of the new sovereign,

the princes Frederick William and Louis, absorbed in thoughts which such a scene could not fail to excite.

At eight in the evening, the royal remains were deposited by twelve subalterns of the first battalion of the guard in an oak coffin, and conveyed in a hearse, drawn by eight horses, to the palace in the town. The adjutant of the first battalion of the guard preceded the hearse, on horseback; on either side walked twelve subalterns; and it was followed by three carriages only, containing generals Rohdich and count Schwerin, the two surgeons, Frese and Engel, and the king's two valets, Neumann and Schöning. The quiet procession entered at the Brandenburg gate, where a great number of officers were waiting to pay their tribute of respect to the illustrious dead, whose remains they followed with downcast looks.

All the streets of Potsdam were crowded while the remains of the sovereign were passing to their last abode, yet the stillness of death pervaded his people, uninterrupted, save by half-repressed sobs and the heart-wrung exclamation — "Ah, the good king!" At the same south entrance of the palace by which the deceased left it when he went for the last time to Sans-Souci he was received by four colonels, who watched in the audience-chamber with the corpse during the night. From eight the next morning he lay in state under a canopy there, dressed exactly as he used to be, when living, on extraordinary occasions, his scanty gray hair curled and a little powdered. Calmly pensive gravity was expressed in his pallid features. Upon a stool near him lay, crossed, his well-known crutch-stick, sword, and scarf. Thousands and tens of thousands thronged from the sur-

rounding country, from the small towns, and from Berlin, to take a last farewell of the father of his country. It was a touching sight to see the mortal tenement of that mind, whose achievements will live for ever in the history of the world, and which looked more like the remains of a boy than those of a man: the countenance alone retained the last evident impress of his greatness, but, on viewing the rest, the spectator could scarcely believe that this handful of clay had harboured such wonderful energies.

We have seen that Frederick, when he fixed upon Sans-Souci for his residence, had a vault constructed on the terrace with the intention that it should receive his remains; and there, too, he desired in his last will to be interred. This was his only testamentary injunction that was not fulfilled. The spot was deemed not quite worthy of his renown, and the new king selected for him a last resting-place beside Frederick William I., under the chancel of the garrison church at Potsdam.

The oak coffin containing the body, having been inclosed in another of block tin, wholly unornamented, weighing six hundred weight, the procession moved at eight o'clock in the evening of the 18th of August, attended by the generals and officers, the magistrates of the town, and the household of the deceased monarch. Two clergymen went to meet his remains, and accompanied them to the entrance of the vault.

The usual commemoration sermon was preached throughout the whole kingdom, on I Chronicles, xvii. 8. "I have made thee a name like the name of the great men that are in the earth."

Professor Niemeyer, of Halle, in the admirable ser-

mon which he preached on this occasion, has the following striking passage:—

"Let me not," says the inspired preacher, "in order to complete that evidence which it behoves us to adduce in commemorating this incomparable sovereign—let me not omit mentioning that virtue which ennobled all those great qualities. If it is but too true that the example of a vicious ruler produces incalculable mischief, that it stifles all moral feeling in those who are nearest to his throne, that frequently it is liable to spread like a pestilential disease to the remotest parts of his kingdom, and to make his own subjects the victims of his depravity, I know not whether it is too much to say that it demands perhaps our very warmest thanks that we have so long seen what is so rare—a bright example of virtue on the throne. Call the noblest expression of each of the faculties of the human mind virtue—where have powers and faculties manifested themselves more nobly than in him! Call the most faithful performance of a man's vocation and of his duty virtue, who—I boldly look around me and ask—who, in the whole circumference of his dominions, has performed his vocation and his duty more irreproachably, more conscientiously, more sacredly, than he? Call virtue the elevation above sensual pleasures and frailties, call it that mighty feeling of one's own worth, which despises the petty vanities of life and knows the impotence of death, and in the consciousness of having lived well and usefully, is sufficient for itself; where do you find a truer picture of that than in this great king, and in this great man?"

The solemn obsequies took place on Saturday, the 9th of September, when all the shops and places of

business in the principal towns were shut, in the garrison church at Potsdam, where a Latin dirge by the marquis Lucchesini, set to music by Reichardt, was performed. The arrangements of this solemnity were precisely the same as those on occasion of the funeral of Frederick William I.

Baron Hardenberg, who was destined at a later period to render the most important services to the Prussian monarchy, but was then minister of the Duke of Brunswick, whom the great king had in his last will appointed his executor, was the bearer to his master of that remarkable document, written by Frederick himself in Berlin, on the 8th of January, 1769, in which that extraordinary sovereign furnished a new proof of his warm attachment to his country and family, and how anxious he was for the welfare of both when he should be no more. In this will, which was opened in presence of the new king, the princes Henry and Ferdinand, and several ministers, Frederick, like the prudent head of a family, sets his house in order betimes. It displays from beginning to end the same calm composure, the same cheerful resignation, together with a deep sense of duty towards the state and its property; so that the perusal is truly refreshing, even to readers who are not subjects of the Prussian sceptre. I subjoin a faithful translation from the original French.

"Life is a rapid passage from the moment of birth to that of death. The destination of man during this brief space is to labour for the welfare of the community of which he is a member. Since I attained to the management of the public affairs, I have striven with all the powers which nature has conferred upon me, and to the

best of my humble judgment, to render the state which I have had the honour to govern happy and flourishing. I have established the rule of law and justice; I have introduced order and punctuality into the finances, and into the army that discipline by which it has gained the pre-eminence above all the other troops of Europe. Having thus performed my duties to the State, I should for ever be obliged to reproach myself if I were to neglect my family concerns. To prevent all disputes that might arise among my nearest relatives about what I may have to leave, I declare this solemn document to be my last will:

"1. I give back cheerfully and without regret this breath of life to bounteous Nature, who bestowed it upon me; my body to the elements of which it is composed. I have lived as a philosopher, and wish to be buried as such, without pomp or parade. I desire that I may neither be opened nor embalmed. Let me be deposited in the vault which I had constructed for myself, on the upper terrace at Sans-Souci. If I should die during war or on a journey, let me be buried in the nearest convenient spot, and afterwards removed in the winter season to the place at Sans-Souci above-mentioned.

"2. I bequeath to my dear nephew, Frederick William, as nearest in succession to the throne, the kingdom of Prussia, the provinces, towns, castles, forts, fortresses, all munitions of war and arsenals, of the countries conquered or inherited by me, all the jewels of the crown, the gold and silver service which are in Berlin, my country-houses, library, cabinet of medals, gallery of pictures, gardens, &c. I bequeath to him, moreover, the trea-

sure, such as it is, on the day of my death, as a property belonging to the State, which must not be expended but for the defence or the succour of the people.

"3. Should it be found after my death that I have left some small debts, which death has prevented me from paying, my nephew shall discharge them. This is my will.

"4. To the queen my consort I bequeath 10,000 dollars per annum in addition to the revenues which she is now receiving, two butts of wine annually, as much wood as she needs for fuel, and game sufficient for her table. The queen has promised, on this condition, to make my nephew her heir. As no place appears more suitable to be assigned for her residence, let Stettin be considered so in name. But I require my nephew to give her apartments suitable to her rank in the palace of Berlin; and he will also pay her every respect which is due to her as the widow of his uncle and as a princess who has never swerved from the path of virtue.

"5. Now for the allodial property. I have never been either avaricious or rich, and, consequently, have not much private property at my disposal. I have always regarded the revenues of the State as the ark of the covenant, which no unholy hand ought to touch. I have never applied the public revenues to my personal advantage. My expenses have never exceeded 220,000 dollars a year. My administration of the State leaves me a quiet conscience, and I have no objection to render a public account of it.

"6. My nephew, Frederick William, shall be universal heir of my property, upon condition that he pays the following legacies:

"7. To my sister of Anspach a snuff-box of the value of 10,000 dollars, which is in my *chatoulle*, and a service of porcelain from the Berlin manufactory.

"8. To my sister of Brunswick 50,000 dollars, and my silver service with the vine-leaf ornament, and a handsome carriage.

"9. To my brother Henry 200,000 dollars, 50 *anthal** of Tokay, and the beautiful lustre of mountain-crystal in Potsdam, the green diamond ring which I wear, two saddle-horses with their housings, and a team of Prussian horses.

"10. To the princess Wilhelmine of Hesse, his consort, a revenue of 3000 dollars, which I derive from a capital invested in the tobacco-farm.

"11. To my sister the queen of Sweden, a gold snuff-box, worth 10,000 dollars, 20 anthal of Tokay, and a picture by Pesne, which hangs in the palace of Sans-Souci, and which was given to me by Algarotti.

"12. To my sister Amelia, an income of 10,000 dollars out of the capital invested in the tobacco, a snuff-box out of my *chatoulle*, worth 10,000 dollars, 20 anthal of Tokay, and the silver plate off which my aides-de-camp dine.

"13. To my brother Ferdinand 50,000 dollars, 50 anthal of Tokay, a state carriage, horses, and every thing belonging to it.

"14. To his consort, my niece, an income of 10,000

* Preuss says, that *anthal* is an Hungarian wine-measure, containing the same quantity as the German *eimer*, that is, 320 bottles. He adds, that the value of an anthal of Tokay, at this time, may be calculated from the following entry: "Paid to count Münchow, minister of state, on account of the 40 anthal of Tokay, bought for the king's majesty in Hungary, 6875 dollars."

dollars out of the money lent to the tobacco-farm company, and a snuff-box set with brilliants.

"15. To my niece the princess of Orange, a service of Berlin porcelain, a snuff-box worth 10,000 dollars, 40 anthal of Tokay, and a state carriage with a team of Prussian horses.

"17. To my nephew, the margrave of Anspach, I bequeath a yellow diamond, two of my best saddle-horses with saddles and furniture, and 30 anthal of Tokay.

"18. To my nephew, the hereditary prince of Brunswick, two English horses, with saddles and furniture, and 10 anthal of Tokay.

"19. To my nephew, prince Frederick of Brunswick, 10,000 dollars.

"20. To my nephew, prince William of Brunswick, 10,000 dollars.

"21. To my niece of Schwedt, consort of the prince of Wirtemberg, 20,000 dollars, and a snuff-box set with brilliants.

"22. And to her husband, two of my saddle-horses with saddles and furniture, and 20 anthal of Tokay.

"23. To my niece, the princess Philippine of Schwedt, 10,000 dollars.

"24. To prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, my brother-in-law, whom I always highly esteemed, a snuff-box set with brilliants, and 20 anthal of Tokay.

"25. I recommend to my successor, with all the warmth of affection that I am capable of, those brave officers who have fought under me. I beseech him to provide in particular for those officers who have been in my retinue, not to dismiss one of them, nor to suffer any of them, afflicted with illness, to perish in want.

He will find in them experienced military men, and, in general, men who have exhibited proofs of intelligence, valour, devotedness, and fidelity.

"26. I recommend to him my private secretaries, as well as all those who have been employed in my cabinet. They are clever at business, and can give him information on many points with which they alone are acquainted, and which the ministers know nothing about.

"27. In like manner, I recommend to him all who have served me, as well as my valets. I bequeath to Zeysing, for his extraordinary integrity, 2000 dollars, and 500 for the servants of my wardrobe; and I flatter myself that they will be allowed to retain their salaries till they have been elsewhere suitably provided for.

"28. To each of the staff-officers of my regiment and that of Lestwitz, and also to those of the garde-du-corps, I bequeath a gold medal, struck on occasion of the successes of our arms and of the advantages gained by our troops under my command. To each soldier of these four battalions, I bequeath two dollars, and the same to each of the garde-du-corps.

"29. If I should before my death add hereto a codicil written and signed by myself, it shall have the same effect and validity as this will.

"30. If any of my legatees dies before me, the legacy is cancelled.

"31. If I die in the field, my universal legatee is not bound to pay the legacies till peace is restored. During the war, nobody has a right to demand any thing.

"32. I further recommend to my successor to honour his blood in the persons of his uncles, aunts, and other relatives. Chance, which presides over the destiny of

men, likewise determines the accident of primogeniture; and if a man is a king, he is not on that account of more worth than others. I recommend to all my relations to live in harmony, and not to forget in case of emergency to sacrifice their personal interest to the welfare of the country and the advantage of the State.

"My wishes at the moment when I shall draw my last breath will be for the happiness of my kingdom. May it be ever governed with justice, wisdom, and firmness; may it be the happiest State for the mildness of its laws; may it be the best administered in regard to the finances; may it be the most valiantly defended by an army aspiring solely to honour and noble glory! O that it may continue to enjoy the highest prosperity till the end of time!

"33. I appoint the reigning duke of Brunswick executor of this my last will. From his friendship, sincerity, and integrity, I reckon upon his acceptance of this office."

As this will was made more than seventeen years before the decease of the king, it is not wonderful that several of those to whom he designed to bequeath tokens of remembrance should have descended to the tomb before him. His two sisters, the margravine of Anspach and the queen of Sweden, died, the former in 1784, and the latter in 1782. The picture by Pesne, bequeathed by Algarotti to the king and by him to the queen of Sweden, was one of the best performances of that artist. Frederick had it hung in the room adjoining to the great marble hall at Sans-Souci. As the queen died before him, this double legacy still belongs to the royal Prussian collection. The duchess of Wir-

temberg, the only child of the king's favourite sister, the margravine of Bayreuth, died in 1780; his nephew, prince William of Brunswick, in 1770. Zeysing, the only one of his servants whom he has mentioned by name, was his privy-kämmerier, or principal valet, who always had the care of the king's privy purse.

The chair on which the king expired and the cup out of which he usually drank were presented by his successor to the princess Amelia. A clock which had belonged to Frederick was taken away by Napoleon, and hung, as Las Cases tells us, over the chimney-piece at Longwood, in St. Helena. The ex-emperor bequeathed it to his son by this designation: "My alarum; it was that of Frederick II., which I appropriated to myself in Potsdam." He is said to have also taken a hand-bell from the table of the great king at Sans-Souci; and this, too, he left to his son.

Frederick's crutch-stick, one of his scarfs, and the sword which he wore in peace as well as in the field, were laid upon the coffin at the funeral. The stick was presented by his successor to the widowed queen, who used it till her decease; and it is now preserved in the Royal Museum of Berlin. The sword has given rise to much discussion. According to the 18th bulletin, Napoleon took it from Potsdam, with the scarf and the order of the Black Eagle, and presented it to the Hotel des Invalides, where it was suspended under the dome. In 1807, general Hinrichs asserted in a periodical work that this was not Frederick's sword, as colonel Hahnefeldt, while on duty by the king's coffin before the interment, had removed that, and placed his own in its stead: but this story that officer's widow publicly pronounced

to be utterly false. It was said, in 1814, that Frederick's sword was not to be found in Paris, but it was really carried back to Prussia, and, in 1815, Blücher presented that of Napoleon, taken at Gemappe, to the corps of cadets in Berlin.

Frederick left to his successor a flourishing kingdom, to which he had added, by conquest and treaties, 28,000 square miles, and the revenues of which he had increased from 7½ to 22 millions of dollars; a treasury which, notwithstanding the large sums which he was incessantly devoting to the benefit of the country, contained 72 million dollars, or about 12 million sterling; a numerous, highly-disciplined, and formidable army; and a name, at once the glory of Prussia, and the terror of her foes. It is curious to contrast with this picture of the public prosperity the inventory of the personal effects of the great king, who had not confined himself to the mere profession that he existed for his people, not his people for him, but had acted up to that maxim throughout his whole life. This catalogue, given by Büsching, in his "Character of Frederick," is as follows: four mattresses, six old upper beds of eider-down (used by the Germans instead of blankets); twelve pillows, with cases of red taffety; two bolsters, filled with swan feathers, and cased with taffety; a bed of swan feathers, with fustian cover, and a pillow of the same; a new bedstead, with three small mattresses, two bolsters, and five large blankets; a camp-bed, with green curtains; four pillow-cases; a sable pelisse, bordered with silver lace; a wolfskin pelisse, lined with taffety, and covered with barracan; a lynx-skin, with similar lining and covering; a blue cloak, trimmed with taffety, and partly lined with oilskin; a

new cloak of purple *gros de tour*, trimmed with satin; a blue wrapper, like a woman's, of satin, trimmed with rabbit-skin, which the king wore when he had the gout; an embroidered uniform coat of cloth; a new coat of Spanish wool; a cloth coat; two winter coats of Spanish wool; three new and three old waistcoats; an old cassaquin of red velvet; a new cassaquin of purple satin; two black waistcoats; one old pair of breeches of *serge de Berry;* an old sash; thirteen old shirts, with ruffles and frills; three old shirts, with ruffles only; a dozen new pocket-handkerchiefs; four old napkins; ten pair of white thread stockings; five pair of black silk stockings; a muff; six pair of boots; a salver of silver gilt; a silver breeches-buckle; eleven silver tea-spoons; and a looking-glass.

To this singular inventory, Büsching adds the following piece of information: "All the king's shirts were found at his death to be so torn and out of repair, that there was not one fit to be put upon the corpse. As there was not time to get a new one made, Schöning, his valet, brought one of his own which he had never worn, and which had been presented to him by his bride, and in this the deceased monarch was buried." This circumstance, the writer tells us, was related to him upon good authority, and, on close investigation, he found it to be perfectly true. The whole of his wardrobe was sold to a Jew for 400 dollars.

The amount of Frederick's revenues, as well as that of the treasure amassed by him, has been exaggerated almost to absurdity by different writers. In the French Encyclopedie, for instance, de Beaumont estimates the former at 46 million dollars, and the latter at 1034 million livres,

or 278 million dollars. Preuss, however, satisfactorily shows that at the conclusion of Frederick's reign the revenues of the State did not exceed 22 million dollars; and he argues, from well known facts, that his savings could not possibly have amounted to more than the specified sum of 72 millions. The maintenance of the army required 13 millions a year. The Bavarian war cost 29 millions, exclusively of the loss to the royal exchequer from the soldiers spending their pay in a foreign country; upon internal improvements the king laid out, from the year 1763, little short of 25 millions of dollars, in gifts and undertakings which put money into circulation; in and about Potsdam he expended upwards of 10½ millions in buildings only; the fortresses cost 6 millions since 1763; the expense for the artillery amounted to about 2 millions; in the 130 snuff-boxes left by the king was locked up a sum of 1,300,000 dollars; and the subsidies paid for seven years to Russia during the war with Turkey amounted to 3 millions: forming a total of above 75 millions, or more than 3½ millions a year. Hence it is obvious that nothing but the extreme conscientiousness and prudence with which Frederick managed the revenue, as the steward and treasurer of the State, could have enabled him to accomplish such wonders as he did with means so slender.

It should further be remarked that, from 1763 to 1786, the amount of all sorts of money coined was no more than 97½ millions, and that this, of course, was not exclusively destined to be hoarded.

The king himself has not furnished any clue to the amount of his treasure. The only mention made of it by him was in these few words, in 1779: "By means

of rigid economy, the great and the little treasury were filled; the former, to defray the expenses of war; the latter, for procuring horses, and all that is requisite for setting an army in motion." The great treasure was deposited in Berlin; the little in the principal provincial towns; 4,200,000 dollars in Breslau; 900,000 in Magdeburg.

It was a curious sight, says Thiébault, to see every year, on the 2d or 3d of June, the carts arriving at the palace laden with little barrels of money, to be deposited in the cellars which contained the reserve treasure. This treasure was under the care of an old subaltern, who had a yearly salary of six thousand francs. This man, who alone kept the keys of a treasure exceeding twelve millions sterling, was worthy of the confidence placed in him by the king. Besides this general treasury, the king had a private fund, called la Chatoulle: this was at Potsdam, under the care of one of his trusty servants. It was from this source that he drew the supplies for his personal expenses, and for some particular institutions, his civil and military schools for example.

The king never sat to a painter, though he made presents of his portrait to friends. Those best known to the public are the portrait by Pesne, painted in 1742, engraved the same year in Paris, and afterwards by the celebrated German artists, Schmidt and Wille; and the portrait by Vanloo, engraved in 1768 by Chodowiecki. During the seven years' war, Hempel, painter to the king, and teacher of Solomon Gessner, produced several portraits of his majesty. A portrait by Graff was admirably engraved in 1788 by Bause of Leipzig.

In November, 1772, in sending to Voltaire the medal

struck on the acquisition of West Prussia, the king observes: —"You know that, as I never sat to a painter, neither the portraits nor medals are good likenesses. I am old, broken, gouty, superannuated, but still gay and good-humoured." To the same he writes in May, 1775: —"The portrait which you have received is by Madame Theerbusch. That she might not disgrace her pencil, she has adorned my haggard face with all the graces of youth. You know that when one is something in this world, there is no want of flatterers; and painters understand that art as well as the most accomplished courtiers."

Fiorillo, in his History of the Imitative Arts in Germany, says that Frederick, to oblige his sister, the duchess of Brunswick, did once sit for an hour to Ziesenis the painter, at Salzdahlum, between the years 1770 and 1775.

In 1781 the officers of the Prussian army purposed to erect a monument to their sovereign in Berlin: it was to be executed in marble by Tassaert, and de la Haye de Launay undertook to collect contributions. Frederick declined the honour.

I have noticed in the earlier part of this work the whimsical mode which the king adopted for signing his name. A similar fancy was shown both by his queen and his brother prince Henry. The queen always signed her name Elisabeht; and Henry, whether using German or Latin letters, spelt his name Henrich, as did also the king, instead of following the German orthography, Heinrich.

Another singularity which I have remarked may be worthy of notice. While Frederick, when using the

German language—which, by the by, he both wrote and spoke most incorrectly—addressed his servants and soldiers with the familiar *Du*, thou, which almost implies equality, he always used the third person, *Er*, he, in conversing with generals, ministers, and, indeed, all beneath the rank of sovereign princes, in conformity with the ancient German practice, indicating inferiority in the persons so addressed—a practice, I believe, now universally abandoned in favour of the ordinary mode of polished life, which requires the plural pronoun *Sie*, they.

We have found the king, from the commencement of his reign, seeking relaxation from the duties of government and the fatigues of war in study and literary occupations. The results of these were not all made public in his life-time, neither did they all become the property of the State at his death. Many of his manuscripts he committed to the care of le Cat; and, when he retired from his majesty's service, the king gave them to Villaume, son of Voltaire's secretary, whom he engaged in 1755 as copyist, who acted afterwards as secretary, and continued with Frederick till his decease. Of him they were purchased for 12,000 dollars by Frederick William II., of whom they were begged, together with all the other manuscripts of his uncle found at Potsdam and Sans-Souci, by privy-councillor Wöllner; and by him they were disposed of to Voss and Decker, publishers in Berlin. Count Hertzberg superintended the revision, and the French preacher, de Moulines, the printing of these works: but the one mutilated and took other liberties with them, while the other sent them to press without so much as opening the packets into which they were tied up. Hence it is not surprising that this

official edition of the Posthumous Works of the great king, though produced in his own capital, should be most defective in every respect. It appeared in 1788, in 15 volumes, 8vo., and was followed in 1789 by a Supplement to the Posthumous Works, in 6 volumes, and by the Works published in the life-time of the author, in 4 volumes.

Dohm assures us in his Memoirs, that Wöllner, who had a personal enmity against Frederick, but was in high favour with his successor, had no other object in obtaining this gift and authority to publish the papers in any way he thought proper, but to make money by the public curiosity. It enabled him, moreover, to gratify his animosity against the royal author, whose memory he seized every opportunity to blacken and vilify.

Such was the spirit which presided over the preparation of this official edition of Frederick's works for the press. The most trivial poems and other pieces which the king never intended for the public were included. Severe sarcasms on religious subjects, which had escaped him in essays written for himself only, or in familiar letters, were retained without alteration; so were likewise all expressions on political matters, which could throw odium upon his memory. Harsh judgments passed on contemporaries, which could not but pain such as were yet living or their descendants, were given unmitigated, in order to increase in every possible way the number of those who were indisposed towards the great king. At the same time, such were the defects, or rather the total absence, of arrangement, that Müller, the historian of Switzerland, might well observe: — "In going through these works one cannot help doubting

whether a rational being, or Chance, placed them in the order in which we find them." It is a real disgrace to Prussia that these emanations of the mind of the great Frederick should not have been given to the world in a form better befitting the royal writer, and more useful and satisfactory to the reader.

According to public report, his present majesty has undertaken to supply this deficiency, and to do honour at once to the memory of his illustrious predecessor and to himself, by the production of a new, complete, and carefully revised edition of the Works of the Philosopher of Sans-Souci, the preparation of which has been confided to a committee of eminent scholars, under the presidency of professor Böckh.

The whole tenor of this work has, I trust, produced in the mind of the reflecting reader a conviction that Frederick was not a despot, arbitrarily ruling from self-will and caprice; that he was not a war-fond conqueror, but that his grand object was to render his people happy, and that he strove with untiring zeal and activity to attain it; that, moreover, he was a sincere friend of peace, and that he wisely maintained it during a great part of his reign under very difficult circumstances, without any sacrifice of the dignity of his crown. It is equally evident, I hope, that, if this sovereign erred in some of his measures, this was entirely owing to the limited nature of the human powers, and the impossibility of bestowing equal study and care on all the different departments of the administration.

Some have affected to regret that a sovereign of such profound penetration, and so intimately acquainted with all the difficulties of governing, should not have crowned

his labours for the welfare of his people by giving them a representative constitution. I would ask such objectors to point out a single instance of a ruler from whom such a concession has been extorted but by force. Look at our own history. Force, and nothing but force, laid the foundation of our civil liberties; and England, though possessing for ages the semblance of a representative constitution, would have been deprived of even the slight benefits which it afforded, had not our ancestors raised their hands as well as their voices against the ever active principle of arbitrary power.

As far as Frederick is concerned, however, the objection to which I am alluding is really frivolous. Frederick had not, neither could he have, the notions of the present time. The conviction of the importance of a free constitution, as a necessary condition of a well governed and happy state, is a result of events which Frederick did not live to witness. There was nothing to suggest the idea of suddenly overthrowing, without cause or pressure from without, the state of things which he found established in his dominions, of circumscribing himself and his successors in the most important prerogatives, and imposing upon them the obligation of asking the consent of representatives chosen by the people to the exercise of those rights. So far was such a voluntary sacrifice of power by a sovereign from entering the minds of his contemporaries, that, had Frederick proposed it, he would most assuredly not have been understood by his own subjects; nay, it is very probable that the agitation needlessly excited in men's minds might have led to popular commotions, which no human foresight could have prevented, still less arrested in their

progress. Frederick, therefore, retained all the prerogatives which had devolved to him on mounting the throne with the joyous assent of his people, and which he made it the business of his life to exercise for their welfare.

It may be urged that, in Frederick's time, the British constitution subsisted as it does now, and that it might have served for a model to the Prussian monarch. True; but, how favourable soever the impression which the theory of our constitution might produce on the mind of a philosophic ruler, circumstances which were continually occurring could scarcely lead an arbitrary monarch to admire its practical operation. Neither the turbulent opposition of Wilkes to the court, the eloquent denunciations of Junius, the spirited resistance of Crosby and Oliver to attempted encroachments on the rights of their fellow-citizens, nor the disgraceful scenes exhibited in the No Popery riots, were proceedings of a nature to make such a monarch fall in love with the form of government under which they could take place. So deeply rooted, even at the present day, in the minds of enlightened foreigners themselves, is the reverence for that despotism under which they have been born and bred, and so incomprehensible to them are the workings of that spirit of independence which pervades all classes of Englishmen, that every popular excitement here, every ebullition of party violence, is regarded as the commencement of a revolution destined to overwhelm throne, church, and state, in one general destruction.

How exactly the practice of this great king corresponded with his theory, is evident from the following exposition of the latter. "A prince," he says, "is the

first servant and the first magistrate of the state. It is his duty to account to it for the use which he makes of the taxes. He levies them that he may be able to defend the state by means of the troops which he keeps, to support the dignity with which he is invested, to reward services and merit, to establish in some respect an equilibrium between the rich and the poor, to relieve the unfortunate of every class, to display magnificence in all that concerns the state in general. If the sovereign has an enlightened mind and an upright heart, he will direct all his expenses to the benefit of the public, and to the greatest advantage of his subjects."

These, methinks I hear the reader exclaim, are strange sentiments to be professed by an arbitrary monarch. They are; but is it not still more strange that an arbitrary monarch should make them the rule of his conduct, as Frederick did? Still, this only serves to prove that, when an absolute sovereign has the welfare of his subjects honestly and truly at heart, he is ready to lay upon himself the same restrictions that the jealousy of the people has imposed upon a constitutional king.

The manes of Frederick William are appeased. In the narrow vault of the garrison church at Potsdam reposes, beside his father, in an equally unornamented coffin, Frederick the Great, the conqueror of Silesia, the deliverer of his kingdom from vassalage to the holy Roman empire and the house of Austria. Above their tomb are seen the eagles of the legions of the French empire, placed there by the late king, when he returned victorious from the war of German liberation. In the beautiful districts of the Rhine, in Juliers, Cleves, Berg, Mark, and Ravensberg, now waves the Prussian banner;

and the work at which Frederick William I. laboured all his life with ceaseless energy and perseverance was gloriously completed by Frederick William III.

It was not till the 100th anniversary of Frederick's accession to the throne of Prussia that the foundation-stone was laid in his own capital for a monument to his memory — an equestrian statue to be executed by Rauch. This was the last act of the life of the late king, who, in military uniform, witnessed the ceremony from a window of the palace—his last, his farewell appearance in public.

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